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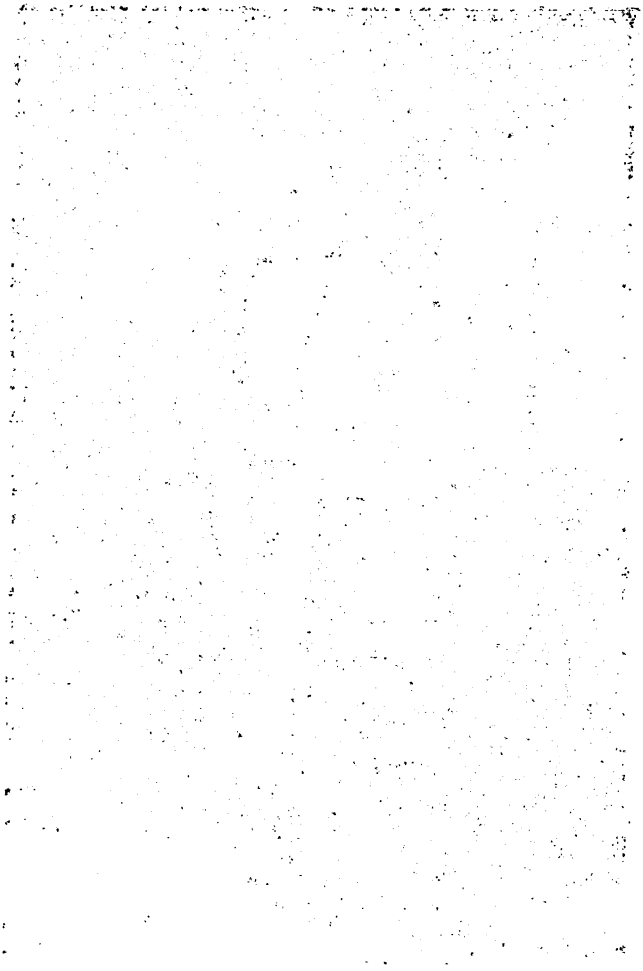
H.M. THE KING IN HIS ROBES AS FIRST CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY



COLLEGE HISTORIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES

AND

ITS CONSTITUENT COLLEGES

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LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON & CO.

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

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PREFACE

THIS work—which differs from the series to which it belongs in being, largely, the history of an educational movement rather than that of a single collegiate foundation—was originally undertaken by Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies. Protracted ill-health obliged him, after writing, substantially, the first four chapters, to abandon the task. The remaining portions of the book, with the exception of the bulk of Chapter IX., have been written by me. I have had throughout, however, the benefit of Mr. Davies' suggestions, and of his help in revising the proof-sheets. The ninth chapter, containing the history of the University College of North Wales, has been contributed by Professor J. E. Lloyd, the Registrar of the College.

Obligations to particular books and other sources of information are, wherever possible, acknowledged in the notes to the text. For personal help and suggestion our united thanks are due to the Rev. T. Mortimer Green, who furnished us with a mass of valuable material bearing upon the history of the Aberystwyth College and the movement that led to its foundation; to Sir Isambard Owen, Senior Deputy Chancellor of

the University, who placed at our disposal a number of private papers relating to the various conferences preliminary to the passing of the Charter; to Mr. J. Austin Jenkins, Registrar of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, for much information as to the history of that College; and to Mr. D. Lleufer Thomas, for assistance in various ways. Chapter XI. is, with the exception of a single paragraph, a reprint of a portion of an article of my own published in the *Quarterly Review*. For the compilation of the Index I am indebted to my wife. I desire also to acknowledge very cordially the assistance rendered by Mrs. W. Cadwaladr Davies in a work of collaboration which, owing to the distance between her husband and myself and the consequent necessity of frequent correspondence, has been carried out under conditions of some difficulty. Lastly, Mr. Davies and myself would express our deep obligations to Mr. F. E. Robinson for his indulgence and forbearance in the face of many vexatious but unavoidable delays on our part.

W. Lewis Jones.

Bangor,
February, 1905.

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INTRODUCTORY

On November 30, 1893, the Great Seal was affixed to a Royal charter constituting the University of Wales. It is a date that will ever be memorable in the annals of the Principality, for it marks the consummation of a movement which brings into strong relief the peculiar national characteristics of an ancient people. This volume is intended to deal with that movement in its educational aspect; but the history of learning in Wales, of which the new University is but a symbol and a manifestation, is not merely the history of a movement or of a phase of national activity. It is the history of the nation itself—a nation which, through the vicissitudes of more than a thousand years, has remained faithful to its ancient literary and intellectual traditions. The educational movement, which in recent years has stirred Wales and attracted sympathetic attention beyond the limits of the Principality, cannot, therefore, be understood or appreciated without some reference to earlier pages of Welsh national history.

For the University of Wales is the creation not of sovereigns and statesmen, but of the people themselves. Its charter is a token not so much of State patronage or governmental oversight of education as of the per-

sistent fidelity of a race to a traditional ideal of intellectual culture. In that, indeed, lies the surest guarantee of the vitality and development of the new University. Cardinal Newman, in describing the struggles of the early Universities of the Continent, uses these remarkable words, which may not inaptly be applied to the circumstances of Wales: 'Years—nay, centuries, perhaps—passed along of discomfort and disorder; and these, though they showed plainly enough that, for the well-being and perfection of a University, something more than the desire of knowledge was required, yet they showed also how irrepressible was that desire, how reviviscent, how indestructible, how adequate to the duties of a vital principle, in the midst of enemies within and without, amid plague, famine, destitution, war, dissension, and tyranny, evils physical and social, which would have been fatal to any other but a really natural principle, naturally developed.'* And, speaking of the forces which contributed to the birth and growth of Continental Universities, he continues: 'But, after all, it was not in an Emperor's power, though he were Charlemagne, to carry into effect in any case, by the resources peculiar to himself, so great an idea as a University. Benefactors and patrons may supply the framework of a Studium Generale; but there must be a popular interest and sympathy, a spontaneous co-operation of the many, the concurrence of genius, and a spreading thirst for knowledge, if it is to live.' The idea of a University in Wales has not been an Emperor's, but a people's idea; and while it owes its charter to the

* 'Historical Sketches,' vol. iii., p. 51.

State, it will as a living reality continue to depend for its existence, as it owed its inception, to 'the spontaneous co-operation of the many, the concurrence of genius, and a spreading thirst for knowledge.' The Welsh University is the embodiment of the genius of a race, and the final expression of a national tradition of learning which has survived the vicissitudes of centuries.

CHAPTER I

EARLY BRITISH CULTURE

WHEN the Roman Conqueror took his departure from the shores of Britain at the beginning of the fifth century, all traces did not disappear either of the civilization which preceded him, or of that which he himself had established in the island. The Roman occupation, extending over a period of nearly four centuries, left its permanent mark upon the traditions, institutions, and character of the aboriginal inhabitants. Towns and military stations, some of which were necessarily centres of trade and commerce, had been founded in different parts of the province. In these settlements some form of municipal government was established, accompanied by those refinements and luxuries which were inseparable from the Roman civilization in every part of the world. It may also be assumed that at these urban centres the Latin tongue was taught in the school and spoken in the mart. Although, owing to the remoteness and inaccessibility of the province, the Roman conquest of Britain retained to the end its preponderant military character,* with

* Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' p. 100.

the result that Roman civil institutions were not so widely established in this island as they were in other provinces of the Empire, the British municipal settlements must have included some provision for the education of the Roman colonists. Tacitus, in fact, testifies in his 'Life of Agricola' to the existence of Roman schools in Britain, while in all the cities of the Roman world, according to Gibbon, the education of youth was entrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric, who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges. It is generally supposed that the Roman *civitates* in Britain were at least thirty-three in number, representing every type of colonial settlement established on the Continent. As under the Roman Empire teaching was a function of the State, and schools were established, just as soldiers were stationed, in every great city of the East and the West, it is not unreasonable to conclude that in these places some provision existed for intellectual training, especially in view of the intercourse which existed between Britain and Gaul, where the schools were in great repute.

Before the termination of the Roman occupation, moreover, Christianity had been firmly planted in Britain. By the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century the new faith commanded the allegiance of what remained of the Roman colony, and was transforming the ideas, even if it had not as yet secured the formal obedience, of the great bulk of the British population, whether Celtic or pre-Celtic,

with the exception of the Picts of the North.* What survived of the Druidic tradition among the Goidelic Celts was not antagonistic to the Christian culture, but became itself permeated by the new doctrine, while its own magical characteristics developed ultimately into a bardic cult in which the literary instinct of the Ibero-Celtic race found expression. Although, during the Roman occupation, but few of the native inhabitants acquired a knowledge of the Latin tongue and of Latin institutions, that they did not escape Roman influences is amply demonstrated by the extensive importation of Latin forms into the common British language, a result which would not have obtained if there had been an impassable gulf between the conqueror and the conquered.

Cæsar, in his 'Gallic War,' gives an account of the Druidic discipline as it was followed in Gaul. There is no evidence that can be depended upon to show how far the system was the same in Britain, but the relations between the Gallican and British Celts were close

* In the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* for 1893-94, Lord Justice Vaughan Williams maintains that the testimony of Tertullian and Origen, coupled with the presence of British bishops at the early councils, form a sufficiently strong chain of evidence to support the common opinion that in the third century the Christian faith had obtained a firm footing in Britain; but in the same volume of the *Transactions*, Professor Hugh Williams, writing from a different standpoint, very ably argues that there was no really British Church, as distinct from the Christianity which prevailed among the resident Roman population, before the fifth century. Professor Zimmer, in his 'Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland,' published in 1902, rejects Professor Williams's conclusions, and maintains the existence of a flourishing Episcopal Church in the fourth century, which collapsed in the fifth, but which renewed its vitality during the first half of the sixth century.

enough to justify the assumption that its main features were preserved on this side of the Channel, even if not much stress be laid on the statements of ancient writers that the youth of Gaul resorted to Britain to complete their Druidic education. There is ample evidence of constant intercourse at a later period between the Celts of Gaul and their brethren in Britain; and though it is probable that Christianity came to these islands through Roman channels, the Christian civilization ultimately took firmest root in Ireland and Wales, which remained predominantly Celtic, and where the new religion derived least aid from the Roman power.

'It was because Celtic missionaries,' to quote Mr. F. C. Conybeare, 'never leaned on the secular arm that the work they did, not only in these islands, but all over the Continent, never had to be done over again. Those who desire to obtain a record of the work achieved by the Early British Church will find it in the lists of monasteries founded by them here and on the Continent. These monasteries, it may be added, were not houses of mere monks, but centres of further missionary effort and of learning. As penmen and artists in particular the Celtic saints excelled, and up to the tenth century it was they that wrote the most exquisite prayer-books, and were the best workers in leather, metal, and wood. No other people could chase copper and iron as they could; and for beauty of form and delicacy of interlacing pattern their stone crosses are unrivalled.'*

This description is perhaps more applicable to the Irish than to the British Church, so far as it is attested by

* 'Bye-gones,' 1897-98, p. 410.

surviving memorials, although some competent judges are of opinion that, generally speaking, Welsh crosses are two centuries earlier in date than those of Ireland.* It is nevertheless true that, in the words of Dr. Döllinger,

'the Celt preceded the Anglo-Saxon, not only in his Christianity, but in his cultivation and custody of learning, religious and secular; and the British Church, if inferior to the Irish Church in the splendour of its monuments and the eminence of its saints, may certainly claim a greater antiquity, and perhaps even the relation of a parent.' †

The period of the greatest prosperity of the early British Church coincided with or immediately followed the downfall of the Roman power. With the growth of native Celtic influences, the Church assumed a predominantly monastic character, the process of its evolution differing largely in this respect from that of national forms of Christianity on the Continent, which, as a rule, developed in a civic direction. The monastic movement reached its highest point of development when the conflict with the invading Saxons had resulted in the devastation of England and the retirement of large numbers of the native Christians, and perhaps also of Roman settlers, (the 'Romani' of the Welsh Triads) to Ireland, Brittany and Wales. In Wales the amalgamation of races resulted in the emergence of a nation which came to be distinguished by the appellation of Welsh rather than British, with all the

* Mr. T. H. Thomas, in 'Y Cymmrodor,' vol. xii., p. 105.
† Newman's 'Historical Sketches,' vol. iii., p. 123.

consequences of a modified variety of Celtic speech and the gradual growth of institutions, as well as a literature, of a distinctive character.* It was during those troubled times that the Welsh monasteries, which preserved all that was left of the learning and culture of Roman Britain, arrived at the zenith of their power and influence. While, as Mr. Rashdall tells us in his history of the Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, in North Europe generally educational institutions sprang out and formed part of cathedrals and churches, and were always subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in Wales during the sixth century the monasteries were the schools and colleges of the people, and appear to have been largely independent of episcopal supervision and to have enjoyed a considerable measure of self-government. A bishop might be subject to an abbot in respect of jurisdiction, and certain abbots were styled bishops, because they probably exercised episcopal authority in their respective societies, or even over independent dioceses, as at Llanbadarn, Bangor, and St. Asaph, in which cases the monasteries generally subsided into cathedral chapters. Some of these monastic establishments appear to have declined or perished on the death of their first abbot, and others were in course of time transformed into or superseded by monasteries of the regular orders, which, with the growing ascendancy of the Roman Church, extended their rule to Wales. In the fifth century, however, the great religious orders, to whose zeal and enthusiasm the Continent at a later period was indebted for the restoration of learning, had not come into exist-

* Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' p. 114.

ence, and in Britain the monastic colleges owed their foundation exclusively to native agencies. Mr. Hastings Rashdall, referring to the Benedictine age, or the period between the time of Charlemagne and the eleventh century, says that it was the age, and the only age, during which European education was in the hands of the monks. That is true, however, only of the Continent. Both in Britain and in Ireland the monasteries were from the first the homes, and the only homes, of learning as well as of religion. It is difficult to determine how much reliance is to be placed upon the particulars which ancient chroniclers give us concerning the number and character of such institutions in Wales; it is enough to note that for centuries it was a traditional belief that during the times of St. David, St. Padarn, and the other early Welsh saints, monastic schools were founded in many parts of the Principality. Some of these institutions were renowned for the numbers of their pupils, others for the great names associated with them. Thus we read in the 'Liber Landavensis' that Dyfrig (Dubricius), at Henllan-on-the-Wye, instructed 2,000 clergy for seven successive years in divine and human wisdom. Bangor in Flintshire had, we learn, 2,100 members, and Llantwit Major 2,400. Ty Gwyn, in Carmarthenshire, was believed to have been founded by Paulinus, and counted among its pupils St. David and St. Teilo. Bangor Deiniol, in Carnarvonshire, founded after the destruction of the Flintshire monastery, was famous as the school where Nennius, the historian, was educated, and of which 'the principal over five hundred saints,' in the words of an ancient chronicle, was Elfod, the

bishop who introduced the Roman Easter into the British Church. Gildas, whom Alcuin described as the wisest of the Britons, was the 'highest genius of the school of St. Illtud,' or Llantwit Major.

The monastic colleges of Bangor Illtud and Llancarfan were the most famous of these ancient seats of learning, and in many respects they resembled the great Bangor in the North of Ireland. The roll of saints and scholars testifies to the close intimacy of their relations with the schools of Ireland and to their connection, through the Irish schools, with the intellectual culture of the Continent, though in the latter respect they never rivalled in direct influence the Hibernian missions. But Irish monastic learning, which became so potent a factor in the spread of civilization, owed, if not its origin, at least a great part of its inspiration and power to Welsh influences, and the Irish and Welsh schools may be claimed as the common product of the same race, for in the sixth century Wales was still largely, if not predominantly, Goidelic,* and the Goidels rather than the Brythons may be taken to represent the intellectual side of the Celtic character. In the sixth and seventh centuries there was considerable intercourse between Wales and Ireland, and three famous Welshmen of this period—David, Gildas, and Cadoc—have been traditionally regarded as the 'regenerators' of the Irish Church.† We read of Cadoc that he spent three years in the sister isle, wearing the Irish garb, enriching Irish churches

* Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 'The Welsh People,' p. 24.

† Zimmer, in his 'Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland' (p. 69), altogether denies their claim to the title.

with gifts from his own college of Llancarfan, and on his return bringing with him a large number of Irish students to complete their training at the Welsh schools. While some of the chronicles represent him as instructing the Irish, others, with greater probability, tell us that he gained in Ireland 'perfection in the whole of Western learning.' To him are attributed the mass of the 'Proverbs of Wisdom,' which form so marked a feature of Welsh literary remains, and, in the words of the 'Myvyrian Archæology,' Cadoc became so famous for his wise utterances that everything of that kind in the Welsh language came to be assigned to him. Thus Cadoc's name was held for generations in superstitious reverence by the Welsh people.

The connection of the Welsh monastic colleges with Brittany was as intimate as it was with Ireland, as might be expected from the fact that the people of Brittany, Wales, and Ireland belonged in the main to the same racial stock and used a common speech. Llantwit Major (Bangor Illtud) was the favourite resort of Armorican students, just as Llancarfan and Menevia (St. David's) chiefly attracted the Irish students who migrated to Wales. Among the Armorican students of Llantwit are said to have been Paul de Leon, Samson of Dol, Cadfan and Padarn. The greatest of the Welsh teachers from time to time visited Brittany, as if it were an outlying province of Wales. There is a legend of Cadoc and Gildas relating how, during one of their visits to Brittany, they devoted much time to the study of Virgil, and to speculation as to the eternal fate of 'those who sang upon earth as the angels sing in heaven.' Teilo and Samson are credited with the

more prosaic and practical occupation of enlarging the Breton conceptions and methods of horticulture. Illtud likewise took an interest in the practical arts, for he introduced a new method of ploughing, and it would appear that agriculture, in its more elementary forms, was practised by a large proportion of the members of these colleges. At Llanelwy (St. Asaph), for instance, there were 965 brethren, of whom '300 were illiterate and tilled the ground, 300 more prepared diet, and 365, who were learned, performed divine service.'

The orderly and systematic performance of divine service was, of course, the original and main object of all these foundations, and to that end the study of the Old and New Testaments in Latin occupied the foremost place in the scheme of instruction. There is some warrant for the belief that a knowledge of Greek was also cultivated to some extent at a few of the great centres. Professor Hugh Williams, in the Cymmrodorion paper already referred to, maintains that the scholastic character and what may be termed the Greek bias of British monasticism were derived from Massilia and Lerins in South Gaul, where John Cassian's schools with their Egyptian traditions flourished, and whence, in a previous age, before the schools were founded, Greek coins had found their way to these islands. But Professor Williams also favours the belief that as mere monasteries they owed their origin to an impulse derived from St. Martin of Tours and his followers, whose intellectual conceptions were in some respects more liberal than those of Cassian. St. Martin was a contemporary of, and probably met, St. Basil of Con-

stantinople, and it is possible that the Greek culture and some other features of the British and Irish monastic colleges are to be traced through Brittany and Tours to the great centre of Greek learning in the East. Professor Stokes, again, maintains that Egyptian monks or their disciples, ascending the waters of the Rhone, and pushing on towards the West, arrived in Britain and Ireland, and taught the Celtic Church the ideas and practices of Egyptian monasticism—a theory not altogether inconsistent with Professor Williams's views. But all the authorities agree that Greek and Latin were included in the curriculum of the Irish seminaries in the sixth century, and that during some of the following centuries the teaching of Greek on the Continent was almost entirely in the hands of Irish or Scottish monks. It has already been shown how closely connected were the Irish and Welsh seminaries, and such a close connection would go far to warrant the conclusion that Greek was recognised in the system of Welsh monastic education, apart from the question as to whether the Hellenic tradition emanated from St. Martin of Tours or from Egypt through Cassian of Massilia.

But although the monastic seminaries in their object and character were necessarily of an ecclesiastical type, secular studies were not altogether excluded. Founded as many of them were in the fifth and sixth centuries, the traditions of the Romano-Hellenic schools, a few of which actually survived in Gaul,* would probably influence their curricula if not their organization, and

* There was one at Autun, where also the Celtic speech was still used in the sixth century. See Professor Hugh Williams's paper in 'Y Cymmrodor,' and Laurie's 'Rise and Constitution of Universities,' p. 32.

all echoes of the edicts of Constantine, Valentinian, and Gratian, for the encouragement and promotion of learning, could not have entirely died out. There is a suggestion of the trivium and quadrivium in the statement of the old chronicle that at Llantwit the teaching comprised 'the Old and New Testaments and all sorts of philosophy, to wit geometry and rhetoric, grammar and arithmetic, and all the arts known in Britain.' The statement that at Caerleon in Arthurian times there were 'two hundred philosophers who studied astronomy and other sciences' is a palpable invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth; but 'astronomy' was a part of the quadrivium which would be taught in the more important seminaries, though it probably consisted of little beyond a knowledge of the names and courses of the heavenly bodies. *

Philosophy as a subject of study cannot have extended, except in the vivid imagination of the Monmouth fabulist, much beyond the narrow limits of the trivium.† Enough arithmetic was taught for computing the festival days of the Church and the more important events in the calendar. It has already been seen how Illtud and Teilo were in advance of their day in the art and practice of agriculture. Of law and medicine as subjects of study there is no record in the history of this early period, though in a later age

* Laurie, 'The Rise and Constitution of Universities,' p. 62.

† The trivium consisted of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic or logic; music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy formed the quadrivium. The tradition of the 'seven liberal arts' flourished in Wales down to a late period, as is evident from a poem of Ieuan Ddu, a bard who flourished between 1460 and 1500, published in the Iolo MSS., p. 327.

we have the laws of Hywel, and the medical lore of Meddygon Myddvai, the latter probably derived from Arabic sources through Italy and Spain.

There is nothing inherently improbable in the statements as to the large numbers who flocked to the monastic colleges. Laymen were admitted as well as those whose vocation was to be the service of the Church. There was no definite age at which students were to enter or leave the colleges. Many were admitted in early infancy, like Samson of Dol, who was only five years of age when he became a pupil of Illtud, whilst others spent their declining years in these secluded abodes of piety and learning. Sometimes the fame of individual teachers would attract students in large numbers, for migration from one country to another, as well as from school to school, was a common practice among the saints and scholars of those days. The Church's claim to firstlings, and the system of fosterage of fines, peculiar to the Celtic churches, brought also large additions to the pupils as well as to the revenues of the monasteries. By the system of fosterage, according to Mr. Willis-Bund, the pupils became members of the teacher's tribe, bringing with them their share of the common fund of their old tribe. Fines were paid to the monastery when the pupils entered and when they left or died, and the value of the pupil varied with the rank of the monastery. It should also be borne in mind that the monasteries were centres of industry as well as of learning, and that very often the tribal chiefs who presided over them were surrounded by their dependents, who ranked as members of the monastic community, although the duties they

performed were those of menials. As regards the large number of pupils attending the monastic schools, the case of Wales was not different from that of Ireland, and it is only when compared with the conceptions and experiences of modern times that the figures have even the appearance of being exaggerated. The numbers would not, at any rate, have aroused either astonishment or incredulity among those who heard them in the Middle Ages. For we learn that in the thirteenth century the students at the University of Bologna alone numbered 10,000, and at a later period 20,000, drawn from every part of Europe.

CHAPTER II

LEARNING AND LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

From the eighth to the twelfth century the history of learning in Wales is all but a blank. The marauding Danes, who descended on the coasts, broke up the monastic schools. Two influences, however, combined to preserve civilization and learning from utter extinction. One was the extension into Wales of the great religious orders of the Latin Church. The continued independence of the British Church would not alone have enabled the monastic schools to escape from the depredations of the invading barbarians, and the growing anarchy doubtless helped to bring Wales under the protection and jurisdiction of the great ecclesiastical organization of Western Europe. Some of the ancient seats of learning were either continued or revived under the new ecclesiastical conditions. It is certain that St. David's, for instance, was still a great seat of learning about 1100,* and Asser's settlement in England as a teacher at the invitation of King Alfred is notable as showing that during that dark period the level of scholarship was at

* 'Dictionary of National Biography,' articles on Rhygyfarch and Sulien, by Professor J. E. Lloyd.

least as high at St. David's as it was at Alfred's Court. Evidence has also been discovered of the existence of a monastic school at Brecon about 1100; but although the monastic seminaries had not altogether disappeared in the twelfth century, it is evident that learning was at a low ebb from the fact that clerics who were ambitious of preferment went for their education to Paris, where Giraldus Cambrensis, Adam Bishop of St. Asaph (1175-1181), and Thomas Bishop of St. David's (1248-1255), all Welshmen, studied and taught.

The other influence which survived the ravages of Saxon and Dane was that of the bards. Some writers have endeavoured to prove that the ministry of the early British Church was recruited exclusively from among the bardic order, mainly on the ground that the latter already possessed a quasi-sacerdotal character derived from the Druids; but there is no shadow of evidence for the assumption that the bards enjoyed any peculiar privileges in connection with the Church or its schools. Bardism and monasticism had very little in common, either in sympathy or in tradition. Gildas clearly hated the bards, and there is ample evidence of a feud which lasted for centuries between the bardic and religious fraternities, notwithstanding the fact that some of the great Cistercian abbeys—notably Conway, Strata Florida, Cwm Hir, and Cymmer—in course of time developed strong national sympathies, and at least two—Basingwerk and Valle Crucis—became famous for their patronage of the bards.

In Ireland the bards were more directly the teachers of the people than they ever were in Wales, and by their system of instructing the Irish youth at the cross-

roads were the precursors and outposts of that monastic system which made Ireland, in the words of Camden, the market of learning for all Europe. But there is no evidence of any such connection between the bards of Wales and Ireland as there undoubtedly existed between the ecclesiastical communities of the two countries in the sixth and two succeeding centuries, and it would be unsafe to base on Irish analogy alone any inference as to the status and functions of the British order of bards.* But a few of the literary remains of the British bards, despite the destructive character of modern criticism, establish beyond doubt the existence of literary activity among Britons of the period coincident with the rise of the monastic schools. The best modern critics although holding a considerable number of the poems attributed to that period to be spurious, admit that the 'Gododin' of Aneurin and some poetical relics of Taliesin, Llywarch, and a few less-known names are genuine productions of the sixth century.

While the study of profane literature was too often proscribed or discouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities, poetical exercises fashioned upon secular and classical models were sedulously practised by the bards, whose ingenuity gradually evolved a metrical system which indicated a remarkable aptitude for literary form. In the Romano-Hellenic schools metre, or prosody, was taught as a part of grammar and in the

* It is clear, however, from the 'Ancient Laws of Wales' (vol. i., p. 74, vol. ii., p. 18), that the chief bard at a later period had pupils or disciples under regular instruction, but there is no evidence that he taught any subjects beyond metrical versification and minstrelsy.

Christian schools of the Continent metrical exercises formed an important feature of the higher studies. In this respect, therefore, the bards were in line with scholastic traditions. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his 'Descriptio Cambriæ' in 1194, refers to the exquisite alliteration of bardic poetry. The Eisteddfodic code of the 'twenty-four measures' of alliterative poetry is the product of the later Middle Ages, but the earliest bardic productions are distinguished by a regard for form which bespeaks a considerable degree of literary culture and accomplishment.

The first period of Welsh literary history may be said to extend from the sixth to the beginning of the tenth century, though the death about 664 of Cadwaladr, 'the last King of the Kymry who wore the crown of Britain,' was followed by a period of internecine strife and border warfare which nearly proved fatal to intellectual activity of any sort. For well-nigh two centuries, indeed, the record of literary achievement is a meagre one, although it should not be forgotten that this early period produced, in addition to the bardic compositions already mentioned, the prose-writings of Gildas and Nennius. That the bardic order, however, was already an important element in the structure of Welsh society may be inferred from the fact that when Hywel Dda (Howel the Good) about the middle of the tenth century held his famous Convocation at Whitland to settle the legal and judicial system of the country, the status and privileges of the bards, as a matter of course, obtained recognition and confirmation. The Chief Bard, the *Pencerdd*, or, as he was sometimes styled, the Chair Bard,

was a person of some consequence—a sort of 'dignitary' of his order, exercising, like a prelate, disciplinary powers over the lower bards. The Household Bard, again, was an official of the prince's or nobleman's court, whose chief function was to inspire and eulogise the chieftain's military retinue. In some courts the Household Bard may also have acted as instructor of the chieftain's children.

The eleventh century, following another period of political disturbance, was the beginning of the golden age of Welsh literature. The bards were by this time a well-organized body of poets, musicians, story-tellers, and heralds. Nor was intellectual culture confined to the clerical and bardic orders. Indeed, that could hardly have been the case even in the previous century, for we read that Hywel's Whitland Convocation was attended not only by the bishops and the principal clergy, but by the nobles of Wales and six persons (four laymen and two clerks) from each commote, or an aggregate of 836 deputies from commotes to 170 prelates. At this period many of the Welsh nobles were patrons of letters, and sometimes themselves poets and musicians of note. Under their patronage the liberal arts flourished. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of the Welsh of his day as skilful in music, poetry and oratory, and extols their partiality for alliterative embellishments in their literary performances and their proficiency as masters of various musical instruments. He describes the companies of singers whom he frequently met with during his journey through Wales, with their capacity for singing in parts, and not merely in unison, as was done in other

countries—a peculiarity which was acquired, according to Giraldus, not by art, but by transmitted habit, so that even the children sang in the same manner. One of the most cultured Welsh princes of the time was Hywel ab Owain—the 'high-born Hoel' of Gray's 'Bard'—who was not only a successful ruler and an accomplished poet, but was distinguished as well for his engineering talents, whence it may be inferred that the practical arts were not entirely overlooked in an age when music was a common accomplishment among all classes.

In the eleventh century Gruffydd ab Cynan returned to Wales from Ireland, and reformed the canons which regulated the bards and minstrels, but failed to induce them to accept the Irish bagpipe as an instrument to rank alongside their own harp and crwth. Rhys ab Tewdwr about the same time returned from a long sojourn in Brittany. Wales now began to come into contact with and to influence general European culture. The 'matter of Britain' began to vie in interest and vogue with the 'matter of France' and 'of Rome the Great.' Geoffrey of Monmouth about 1147 completed his fabulous Arthurian chronicle, and pointed the way to the writers of the Welsh 'Bruts.' The Mabinogion also took their literary form in the twelfth century, and bards and story-tellers entered upon a long period of prosperous rivalry. The treasury of bardic literature alone was enriched by the contributions, many of them still extant, of at least eighty poets who flourished between 1080 and 1400, and their themes were no longer exclusively, or even mainly, the virtues or vicissitudes of petty chiefs 'who went forth to war, and always fell.' Deeds of valour were still celebrated in

song, but the Welsh muse now began to find her truest inspiration in the magic of Nature and Love. During all this time the bards travelled their circuits regularly; the Triads, or institutes of learning and wisdom, were either written or collected; Christian legend found dramatic expression in the 'Hud a Lledrith,' or miracle-play; minstrel songs and fairy tales brightened life in hall and cottage; and Dafydd ap Gwilym sang the praises of his Morfudd in imperishable verse.

It was this period of literary renascence that saw the rise of the Eisteddfod, an institution which may well claim to be unique by reason of its antiquity as well as the peculiar character of its history and constitution. From this time forward the Eisteddfod may be regarded as being, in a special sense, the depository of Welsh national traditions. It has safeguarded and cultivated the native language and literature, has fostered love of country, and, with all its limitations and shortcomings, has kept alive those intellectual tastes and interests which eventually created and sustained the popular demand for a complete and organized system of national education. Thus the Eisteddfod is, in many ways, a literary institution *sui generis*, which has survived long periods of discouragement, and even of hostility, on the part of the dominant political power, deriving its sustenance alone from the popular love of literature and song.

It is not necessary to discuss here the connection, real or imaginary, between the Eisteddfod and the Druidical institutions which Julius Cæsar found flourishing and interwoven with the common life of the people of Britain and Gaul. It is significant that at Hywel Dda's

Convocation in the tenth century, while the status and privileges of the bards are defined, no reference is made to the Eisteddfod, which at a later date certainly possessed legislative and executive jurisdiction in all such matters. But we have trustworthy records as to the flourishing condition of the bardic order in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the Princes of North and Mid-Wales promulgated at a series of bardic congresses a number of ordinances, adopted afterwards by the Southern provinces, which may be regarded as the governing statutes of the Eisteddfod for several centuries later, and, indeed, the basis of its constitution even to the present day.

'The Eisteddfod, the name of which means a sitting or a session, appears to have been a regularly constituted court, bearing all the marks of antiquity. Its principal function was to license and admit duly qualified candidates to the position of recognized bards or minstrels; and the legal position of the adjudicating bards or others assisting in the decisions of the court was that of experts or assessors to the sovereign prince, or chief under whose authority the court was held. The business of the court must have been of a serious nature in proportion to the value of the privileges which it granted, and those privileges included among them the right of the qualified professionals to make the circuit of the country, billeting themselves on the nobility and gentry in turn. One of the Eisteddfod proceedings which has most attraction for those who are interested in ancient ceremony is that of chairing the bard. It is referred to in one version of the Laws of Howel in the following clause: "From the person who shall conquer when there is contention for a chair, he [the judge of the court] is to have a buglehorn, and a gold ring, and the

pillow placed under him in his chair." One of the chief places of meeting for Eisteddfod purposes in North Wales appears to have been the ancient town of Caerwys, in Flintshire; and there Gruffydd ab Cynan is supposed to have held a great Eisteddfod about the year 1100.'*

The authentic history of the Eisteddfod, however, may be said to date from 1450, when Gruffydd ab Nicolas, a South Wales prince, obtained the sanction of Edward IV. for the holding of an Eisteddfod at Carmarthen, and it was at this congress that new statutes were framed, imposing upon the bards the code of 'the twenty-four metres'—an arbitrary system—which had the effect of discouraging originality of thought and subordinating true poetic merit to ingenious rhetorical ornament. It is impossible to justify so flagrant a departure from the true spirit of the bardic Triad: 'The three attributes of poetic genius—the eye to see Nature, the heart to feel Nature, and the daring to follow Nature.' But such enactments, dictated by pedantry and affectation, argue an advanced rather than an early stage of literary development. Under the Tudor dynasty the Eisteddfod became the object of royal favour and encouragement, and continued to flourish until nearly the end of the seventeenth century, to be again revived at the beginning of the nineteenth century.*

* Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 'The Welsh People,' pp. 516, 517.

† See Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 'The Welsh People,' pp. 517-520.

CHAPTER III

THREE UNREALISED PROJECTS

The conquest of Wales, while it largely arrested the intellectual development of the people, and for a time silenced the bards, could not alter the character or uproot the traditions of the Kymry. The military achievements of Llewelyn ab Iorwerth and the tragic fall of Llewelyn ap Gruffydd alike resulted in intensifying the patriotic feeling which the native princes, before the conquest, had done so much to foster by their encouragement of the liberal arts. The military conquest, while it destroyed national independence, was impotent to efface national memories, or that national tradition of learning which was from early times an inheritance of the British race. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that, with a recrudescence of the national sentiment, the revival of learning should form a prominent part of any movement having for its objective the restoration of Welsh autonomy.

A little over a hundred years after the Edwardian Conquest such a movement came to a head, and found its leader and hero in Owen Glyndwr. By lineage, as well as by character and training, that picturesque

personality was well fitted to be the representative and exponent of ancient traditions and national ideals. He claimed descent from the old line of North Wales Princes, and he had ties of kindred also with the royal families of Powys and South Wales. His residences were renowned for their stately hospitality, and one, Sycharth, was known and honoured as 'the sanctuary of the bards,' for Owen was himself a scholar and a poet:

> 'A worthy gentleman,
> Exceedingly well read, and profited
> In strange concealments; valiant as a lion,
> And wondrous affable, and as bountiful
> As mines of India.'

He added to his bardic lore the education of an English gentleman, for he studied law at Westminster, was probably called to the Bar, and was certainly attached to the English Court. When he raised the standard of revolt, he soon found himself the leader of an 'old and haughty nation, proud in arms.' The Welsh students of Oxford and Cambridge—no inconsiderable number since the destruction of the native seminaries—left their books and joined the rebellion. They were speedily followed by crowds of Welsh labourers who were employed in England, while in Wales the farmers, fascinated by the heroic qualities of the brilliant chief, sold their cattle to buy arms. Bards and priests forgot their ancient feuds; the former wandered about as messengers of sedition and preachers of a national propaganda, whilst the Franciscan friars, like the Cistercian Abbot of Strata Florida, actively

supported Owen, because in Wales, as in England, they were keen partisans of the House of York. With the growth of his power, and the emergence of a keen sense of political unity, which became a part of the national consciousness, the aims and plans of this tribune of the Welsh people became more pronounced and ambitious. Following the precedent of his predecessor, Owen Gwynedd, who in the twelfth century had established diplomatic relations with France and addressed a despatch in Latin to Lewis VII. seeking his aid against the English, we find Glyndwr writing to the King of the Scots in French, to the lords of Ireland in Latin, and finally sending ambassadors to, and forming a treaty of alliance with, King Charles of France. In the meantime, we are told, Henry IV. received information that the redoubtable Welshman had assembled his forces 'with the purpose of invading England and of destroying our English tongue.' No wonder the English Court is described as being thoroughly alarmed, and that the full strength of the realm was put forth to suppress so audacious and formidable a rebellion. As many as 100,000 men took part in the third of the expeditions against Glyndwr, and they returned home baffled and disappointed, acknowledging indeed that Owen was 'not in the roll of common men,' but attributing their successive disasters to magic and supernatural agency rather than to the skill and valour of their ubiquitous enemy. On May 10, 1404, Owen issued from Dolgelleu letters patent in sovereign style as 'Prince of Wales by the grace of God,' appointing ambassadors to conclude a league with the French; and on July 14 a treaty of alliance was

solemnly concluded at Paris between Charles of France and the envoys of 'the illustrious and most dread Prince of Wales' against their common foe Henry of Lancaster.*

All these remarkable military and political combinations came to naught, but it is not uninteresting or irrelevant to inquire what aims and motives were behind so ambitious an enterprise, and what kind of Welsh state Owen Glyndwr sought to establish; for it is beyond question that he was a representative Welshman who typified the traditions and aspirations of the people whom he led. In the correspondence and negotiations which took place between the Welsh Prince on the one hand, and Peter de Luna and Charles VI. on the other, the conditions upon which Owen was prepared to admit the spiritual sovereignty over Wales of anti-Pope Benedict show that he aimed not only at the restoration of Welsh independence, but at its restoration on lines which were clearly dictated by a desire to conform with, and give effect to, the ideals and idiosyncrasies of the Welsh people. He stipulated for what was practically the emancipation of the Welsh Church from the jurisdiction of Canterbury by the acknowledgment of that archbishopric of St. David's for which Giraldus Cambrensis had vainly striven in the twelfth century. The ecclesiastical, no less than the bardic, traditions of the Welsh people, as we have already seen, had always pointed to the assiduous cultivation of learning; and, therefore, it is not surprising, except to those who are unable to view the

* See Professor Tout's article, 'Owen Glendower' Dictionary of National Biography,' vol. xxi., pp. 427-434.

Welsh leader in a larger perspective than that of a minor Shakespearean character, that the revival of letters occupied a foremost place in his political outlook. The Pope was asked in explicit terms to establish two Universities, one in North, and the other in South Wales; and whether this demand be attributed to Glyndwr's own enlightened wish to promote learning, or to the mere recognition of a national desire for the means of culture, the fact is equally creditable to his intelligence and sagacity, and favourably distinguishes him from the freebooting barons of his day. It was, at all events, a wise act of policy, for, to quote the words of a modern writer to whom the Welsh chronicles are not a sealed book, 'it was calculated to please the students and bards who had done so much for Glendower. The character of Welsh literature had changed with the advent of Glendower. The love-songs of Davydd ap Gwilym, which mark the golden age of Welsh poetry, give place to the martial odes of Iolo Goch—a more masculine and vigorous literature, but with the grace of the fashion of it perishing. But Glendower himself believed in education. He knew that an independent Church must draw its priests from the colleges of his own country, and his own love for reading made this student of Dante aim at giving his people intellectual as well as political freedom.'*

The rebellion was crushed, but Owen's ideals were rooted in the national character, and survived even the barbarous legislation which followed the suppression of the revolt. Arthur, indeed, slept, but in less than a

* O. M. Edwards in Traill's 'Social England,' vol. ii., chap. vii., pp. 282-286.

hundred years he was destined to return from Avalon, once more to claim his British sovereignty. In 1485, Henry Richmond, 'the war-clarion of the race of Tudor,' landed in Milford Haven, not as a conqueror, but as a deliverer. As a Welshman he appealed to Welsh patriotism, and Welshmen shed their blood for him on Bosworth Field. The writings of contemporary bards reflect the high hopes he raised in the breasts of those who acclaimed him as the representative of the ancient royal line of Britain, and tradition asserts that the creation of a University was one of the rewards which he also, like Glyndwr, promised in recognition of Kymric support.

Edward Williams (Iolo Morgannwg), a writer whose bare statements are not to be accepted with implicit faith, mentions such a tradition, adducing in support of it a poem written 'in the fifth year of the Coronation of King Henry the Seventh,' by Lewis Morgannwg, a well-known bard, and addressed to Lleison, the Abbot of Neath. As these alliterative verses throw an interesting light on the educational ideals of that age, they are inserted here together with a literal rather than a literary translation:

'Unifersi Nêdd! llyna fawrson—Lloegr,
Llugorn Ffraingc a'r Werddon;
Ysgawl hygyrch ysgolheigion
I bob syw fel pe bai Seion;
Ag organau i'r gwŷr gwynion,
A mawr foliant amrafaelion.
'Rithmetic, Miwsig, grymusion—safant,
Rhetric, Sufi a Chanon;

I gael addysg a byw'n y gwleddoedd
O dir a moroedd y daw'r mawrion.'*

'University of Neath! famous in England,
The lamp of France and Ireland;
The School to which scholars come
For Science all, it might be Zion;
With organs for those in white attire,
And much-applauded Disputations.
Arithmetic, Music (mighty arts),
Rhetoric, Law Civil and Canon—
To study these and join the feasts
The great from every land and sea attend.'

Another bard of the period, whose poem appears in the Iolo MSS. (p. 327), enumerates the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium, and commends the Abbot of Neath Abbey for his knowledge of 'the seven sciences.'

With regard to the above-mentioned tradition, all that Iolo avers is that a learned bard, Morgan Llewelyn of Neath, assured him that he had once seen a record in an ancient manuscript to the effect that Henry VII. granted a charter to Lleison, the Abbot of Neath Valley, 'to set up there a University, the like of Oxford, for the benefit of the Welsh.' But Iolo also adds that he had had a somewhat similar account from another learned bard, Dafydd Nicolas, of Aberpergwm, except that in this account it was not Henry VII., but his uncle, Jasper ab Owen Tudor, Lord and Prince of Glamorgan, who granted the charter, and that the scheme came to naught, because Jasper died before the charter was signed, and upon his death the lordship of

* 'Cyfrinach y Beirdd.'

Glamorgan escheated to the Crown. This would be just before the incorporation of Wales with England by Henry VIII., who, in the dissolution of the monasteries, was not likely to stay his confiscating hand because of any intention or promise on the part of his royal father, or of his relative, the Lord of Glamorgan, to bestow upon a Welsh abbey the status and privileges of a University. There is no mention of any such charter in Mr. G. T. Clark's monumental collection of Glamorgan charters, nor in the 'Register of Neath Abbey,' a manuscript book referred to by several writers in the sixteenth century, and probably the document seen by Morgan Llewelyn and Dafydd Nicolas cannot now be found. No educational endowment at Neath is referred to in the reports under the Chantries Act of 37 Henry VIII. and 1 Edward VI., but only fragments of those reports, perhaps, have reached us. There is ample evidence of the reputation enjoyed by the abbots of Neath for learning and piety, but whether the verses above quoted reproduce a curriculum actually pursued at Neath Abbey, or are merely the picture of an imaginary University conjured up by the fancy of the bard, their dithyrambic vein must largely be attributed to poetic license and the exigencies of an inexorable metre.

The creation of a Welsh University may or may not have formed part of the good intentions of the Tudor dynasty. If the intention or promise ever existed, there was no serious attempt to give it effect. The restoration of learning in Wales could not be expected, perhaps, to appeal with any special force to the succeeding Stuart monarchs, although the Welsh people were as loyally devoted to them as they had ever been to the

Tudor family. Under the Commonwealth, however, the question of Welsh higher education was again revived, but not on national so much as on religious grounds. The proposals of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were due to the wise policy of Princes whose interest it was to conciliate national sentiment. In the seventeenth century national sentiment was at a low ebb in Wales itself, and the religious reformer was moved by pity for what he believed to be the spiritual and intellectual condition of the Principality. He conceived the remedy to lie not in the revival of native traditions of learning, but in the establishment in Wales of a centre or centres of English culture, the main object being the extension thereto of the prevailing type of religion. It is probable enough that the Puritans exaggerated the benightedness of the Welsh people, among whom Celtic and Catholic traditions had combined to preserve a gaiety of manners repugnant to Puritan ideas. But it is to the credit of the men of the Commonwealth, as an impartial observer remarks, that they at least looked to the revival of learning in some form or other as a remedy for a state of things which they deplored.[1]

The idea of providing the Principality with a College or University appears to have occurred to the Puritan divine Richard Baxter in the year 1646, and he mentioned it to certain officers in the army, but without any practical result. After the lapse of ten years, however, Baxter received a letter on the subject from a Cardiganshire gentleman, John Lewis, of Glasgrug, who was not only in sympathy with the political and religious aims of the Puritan leaders, but also specially qualified to speak of the condition and needs of his

Welsh fellow-countrymen. John Lewis had written and published a pamphlet for the purpose of promoting religion, more especially in Wales. He advocated the establishment of a Welsh College mainly with the view of increasing the number of educated ministers of religion, so as to provide a remedy for the admitted evils arising out of the ignorance of the ministers who had been appointed by Vavasor Powell and his fellow-commissioners to the places of the ejected episcopal clergy. He knew that Baxter had himself advocated the establishment of such a college, and he had a friend, Dr. John Ellis, rector of Dolgelleu, and founder of the grammar-school in that town, who had the same object at heart. John Lewis sent a copy of his pamphlet to Baxter, and suggested that he should exert his influence with the Lord Protector to secure the establishment of a Welsh College at Ludlow, a town which stood in a peculiar relation to the Principality as the place where the Lord President and the Great Council of Wales held their courts. Baxter replied as follows under date of May 5, 1657:

But to lett pass all these matters, I am most desirous to treat with you about a Colledge with academicall priviledges for Wales, and I am glad that you and Dr. Ellis favor it. I did ten years agoe expound it to Col. Mackworth, but succeeded not. Half a yeare agoe I expounded it to Major Genll. Berry who promised me his best assistance, but the want is money. Till we see a probability for that it's in vaine to gett authority. I heard of a Shrewsbury man liveinge in London worth £40,000 that had no child to leave it to, and wrote to him,—though a mere stranger,—my strongest arguments to move him to bestow on such a

foundation; but could not prevaile. If you could but get £1,000 stock to build so much of a Colledge as would containe an hundred students, and but £200 or £300 per annum at first laid to it, I say if you could first procure assurance of this much either from one y^t^ shall be y^e^ founder or by contribution, I make no doubt to procure authority from y^e^ Protector and Parliament, and some hundred pounds per annum addition from my friends, perhaps many, for many will give to such a worke when they see it in a hopefull way yet will not begin it as not knowinge who will helpe it on. I conceive Shrewsbury y^e^ only fitt place in many respects. 1st. It's a capable place where may be sufficient accommodations and a place of some name; 2nd. A little within y^e^ verge of England is best that your sons may learne English: 3rd. It's a place of strength, if warre should arise y^e^ students may be secured; 4th. It's a strength where they may live without military entanglements. Ludlow castle will not be trusted to schollars at least unless they turned soldiers, and y^e^ towne would not secure them, nay y^e^ castle will draw ruine on them. 5th. It is a healthfull seat; 6th. There is a gallant free schoole allready to perceive for y^e^ academy, and I know no reason but £100 or £200 per annum might be allowed out of y^e^ now superfluous maintenance of y^e^ schoole. If any gentleman will doe anything considerable for a beginninge I shall gladly joine with you for an addition and for authority; I pray you stir amonge ye and try what will be done, and y^e^ Lord succeed you.'

Lewis writes again, saying that he had appealed for assistance 'unto one of the wealthiest persons in all Wales that is childlesse,' and enclosing the following letter from his friend the Rector of Dolgelleu:

'For his [Baxter's] love to our nation, and that he would build us a colledge by himselfe and others he

hath and shall have my orisons. The place I am likewise pleased with, though peradventure it were more convenient if in the confines of South Wales and North Wales, in some equidistant town, that both might repaire to it without exception, such as Machynlleth, or rather any other place neere you, as Aberystwyth or Cardigan. If you could have the tithes of the benefices in Wales, now yearly pay'd for the maintenance of ministers, which would be better bestowed than now they are used, though otherwise pretended, it would helpe muche.

'If by your selfe, Mr. Baxter, and others, you could begge some place not yet sold, such as Towyn, with the charges annexed in our countie, and others not yet disposed of, it would avail much, which I hint; . . . and if you can goe by contributions, it would not be much for the thirteene counties. I think also if leave were obtained to erect an academie, though we had but an auditorium at first, as in divers places beyond seas, the students lyeing in towne, wee should have additions quickly, though at first with little endowment, and I should be willing to reade at the first till we could procure assistants in the several sciences. According as you promise in South Wales, by contribution or otherwise, I hope as I shall heare from you, they will to their power doe heere, but it were needfull that you began first. My proposition is, at our ensuing assizes, to move Mr. Vaughan of Llwydiarth and others in this matter, and shortly after (God willing) you shall heere from mee. Though when wee have done all that we can, the two universities, I doubt, for their special interests, will oppose; yet God can make way through all difficulties. I am persuaded also that the Lord Protector, so wee had powerfull agents with him, and did tender a petition backed with friends, would grant our request, and would bestow some substantiall maintenance

to this purpose, he being descended as they say from Wales.'*

Nothing came of the appeal to Vaughan and other rich men, and three years afterwards, with the fall of the Puritan Government and the restoration of the Stuarts, the opportunity for carrying out these generous proposals passed away. It is curious to note, however, how this correspondence foreshadows circumstances and plans which, after the lapse of two centuries, became closely identified with the establishment of a system of higher education in Wales. It was at Aberystwyth, one of the places suggested in the correspondence, that, in 1872, the first Welsh University College was established, and in the closing years of the nineteenth century Shewsbury was the chosen meeting-ground of Welsh educationalists, and notably the scene of the deliberations of the very body that formulated the constitution and charter of the University of Wales. It is still more interesting to observe that the builders of the educational fabric in the nineteenth century pursued a line of policy which had commended itself to their Puritan forerunners, in that they began the work, humbly trusting (with a trust which was in due course abundantly justified) that they 'should have additions quickly,' and relying less for the time upon Government aid than upon the 'contributions' of 'the thirteene counties' which claim the common name of Wales.

* The original letters are preserved in Dr. Williams's Library, Gordon Square, London, and the correspondence is described and summarised by Mr. J. H. Davies in *Wales* (Hughes and Son, Wrexham), vol. iii., No. 23, March, 1896. See also in *Bye-gones* (Oswestry), 1875, pp. 250-253, Mr. Ivor James's Cymmrodorion paper on 'Education in the Seventeenth Century.'

CHAPTER IV

FROM TUDOR TO VICTORIAN DAYS: CONTRIBUTORY FORCES

Mr. Newell, in his work on the ancient British Church, gives particulars of close upon fifty monastic houses in Wales which were dissolved by the ruthless hand of Henry VIII. During the Middle Ages the Welsh monasteries had, as a rule, come under the dominion of foreign abbots resident very often on the Continent or in the North of England, and this foreign influence was one of the causes no doubt of the scorn and hatred displayed towards the monks by the bards. In course of time, however, some of the abbeys became centres of national life and enjoyed the confidence of the Welsh people, and after the accession of Henry VII. we have bards singing the praises of abbots, either from genuine affection or from the less admirable motive of a lively sense of favours to come. The bulk of the monks, however, in Wales, as in England, had become ignorant and corrupt. It is equally true that the rival fraternity of the bards had also fallen upon evil days, for the Eisteddfodic congresses, held by royal warrant under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, were summoned for disciplinary purposes, and to check abuses which admittedly

disgraced the bardic order, although in them literary performances were also tested and rewarded. Nor were there any educational foundations outside the religious houses, so that the dissolution of the monasteries was disastrous in its immediate consequences for Wales, which was left without any organized force to safeguard its intellectual life at a time of peril. During the transition period of the Reformation many of the parochial clergy, as well as the monks, had been driven into exile or reduced to abject poverty, and in the absence of a cultured class the Church was sometimes forced to ordain even mechanics, who had had no intellectual training, to discharge the priestly function. When a man of learning was available, livings and appointments accumulated in his hands. William Hughes, a bishop of St. Asaph, held as many as sixteen benefices besides his bishopric, and some idea of the condition of Wales generally may be derived from the fact that, in 1587, out of 136 clergymen in the diocese of St. Asaph three only resided in their parishes, while scarcely one could preach in Welsh. The few among the resident gentry who had a care for education employed domestic chaplains to teach their sons, but the bulk of the population, at least for a period, had no teachers at all, or teachers who were only as the blind leading the blind. The preambles of Acts of Parliament,* and the terms of

* The preamble of 5 Eliz., c. 28, enjoining the translation of the Bible into Welsh, refers to the English tongue as 'not understanded by the greatest number of Her Majesty's most loving and obedient subjects inhabiting the country of Wales, who therefore are utterly destitute of God's Holy Word, and do remain in the like or rather more darkness and ignorance than they were in the times of the Papacy,' etc. This is not easily reconciled with John Penry's

royal warrants summoning the Eisteddfod, in common with the prefaces of Welsh Bibles and Welsh grammars, and the vivid pages of Sir John Wynn's 'History of the Gwydir Family,' tell the same story of ignorance, superstition, and social disorder.

After a while, however, the Reformation evolved forces which contributed, in a way never approached by the superseded institutions, towards the revival and improvement of the native language and literature. Foremost amongst these influences was undoubtedly the translation into Welsh of the Holy Scriptures—a masterpiece which, while settling once for all the literary form of the language, revived the intellectual aspirations and moulded the character of the people.

Progress was also made in the sphere of education. From Carnarvon, where the King's Courts were held—being, perhaps, the only centre of 'civility and learning' in the six northern counties—at least seven grammar-schools were established in quick succession in North and South Wales, whilst educational foundations for the benefit of Welshmen were endowed at Christ's and St. John's Colleges, Cambridge, and at Westminster School. These various endowments, however, were of less importance in their relation to Wales than the foundation during the reign of Elizabeth of Jesus College, Oxford, through the liberality of Dr. Hugh Price, a native of Brecon. Some of the Welsh grammar-schools were connected by means of exhibitions with the college, and all looked upon it as the natural home

statement in his petition to Queen and Parliament in 1587 that there was no market-town in Wales where English was not as common as Welsh.

of Welsh students and scholars, so that for generations afterwards nearly all Welshmen of learning owed their intellectual equipment to the fostering care of Jesus College.*

The fact that Welshmen again resorted to the English Universities, the increase in the number of men of culture among the local gentry, and the improvement perceptible in the status and character of the clergy, must largely be placed to the credit of Jesus College and the grammar-schools. The introduction of the Welsh Bible into the parish churches and the performance of Divine worship in the native tongue did much to raise the general level of intelligence among the common people, notwithstanding the somewhat dark picture drawn by Vicar Prichard, whose religious verses were for a time more generally read and appreciated than the Holy Scriptures themselves. The outbreak of the Civil War, and the great political and religious convulsions of the time, seriously arrested educational progress during the seventeenth century. The period is also a barren one in Welsh literary history; two or three prose-writers of merit and one poet—Hugh Morris—alone make it memorable. Reference has been made in the previous chapter to Puritan plans for satisfying the higher academical requirements of the Welsh people, and towards the close of the seventeenth century a real attempt was made for the first time to establish a system of popular education in the Principality.

In 1674 the Rev. Thomas Gouge, son of a learned

* A volume on Jesus College, Oxford, by the Rev. E. G. Hardy, has already appeared in this series of College Histories.

English divine, and himself educated at Eton and Cambridge, resolved to devote his fortune and energies to the education of the poor, and he was induced to apply his charity almost wholly to Wales because there, he judged, 'was most occasion for it.' For this purpose, with the support and co-operation of some of the religious leaders of the day, including Dean (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Richard Baxter, he founded a voluntary society to promote the instruction of poor Welsh children in the English tongue, and the circulation of the Book of Common Prayer and other religious publications in the Welsh language. In the first report of the society it is significantly stated that there had been bought and distributed thirty-two Welsh Bibles, 'which were all that could be had in Wales or London,' beyond those, it may be presumed, which were in use in the parish churches; but Gouge procured soon afterwards a new edition of 8,000 copies of the Welsh Bible and Liturgy. He continued his self-denying labours for nine or ten years until the day of his death, travelling at his own charge at least twice a year over the greater part of Wales. Preaching at his funeral in 1681, Archbishop Tillotson thus summarised the educational part of his work for Wales:

'By the large and bountiful contributions which, chiefly by his industry and prudent application, were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions—from the nobility and gentry of Wales and the neighbouring counties, and several of that quality in and about London—from divers of the right reverend bishops, and of the clergy, and from that perpetual fountain of charity, the city of London, led

on and encouraged by the bountiful example of the right honourable the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen —to all which he added two-thirds of his own estate, which I have been credibly informed was two hundred pounds a year; I say, by all these together, there were every year eight hundred, sometimes a thousand, poor children educated; and by this example, several of the most considerable towns of Wales were excited to bring up at their own charge the like number of poor children in the like manner and under his inspection and care.'

Twenty years after the death of Thomas Gouge the Trust had lapsed and the schools had disappeared. In 1701 the Christian Knowledge Society, at the instance of Sir John Phillipps, was appealing to the gentry of Wales to promote the erection of charity schools. The appeal did not apparently produce any result, but the society itself gave a pledge of its good intention towards the Welsh people by setting up lending-libraries for the use of the four dioceses at Carmarthen, Cowbridge, Bangor, and St. Asaph.

Of this Christian Knowledge Society the Rev. Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llanddowror, Carmarthenshire, was admitted a corresponding member in the year 1713, and in 1730 he initiated a work which had far-reaching educational and moral results. Griffith Jones and his coadjutors conceived the idea that the great need of the Principality, in view of its scattered population, was a system of schools like those of Gouge, in that they should be movable, and not attached permanently to particular localities. Jones's schools, however, differed from the earlier Circulating Schools in several respects—they

were intended for illiterate adults as well as children, and the medium of instruction was not the English (as in Gouge's schools), but the Welsh, language.

The first of these new charity schools was opened by the Rev. Griffith Jones in his own parish in 1730 as an experiment. It proved successful, was extended to neighbouring parishes, and ultimately to every part of the Principality, unsolicited financial aid being received from English and Welsh sympathisers as Griffith Jones's novel educational work became more and more successful and widely known. By the year 1739 the Circulating Schools in North and South Wales numbered 71, with 3,989 scholars, in many cases the adult men and women comprising two-thirds of those under instruction. In 1746 there were 116 schools, with 5,636 scholars; in 1754 the schools numbered 149, and the scholars 6,018; and in 1760 there were 215 schools and 8,687 scholars, distributed over all the counties of Wales and Monmouthshire except Flint and Radnor. By 1761, the last year of Griffith Jones's valuable life, the schools had increased to 218; the number of persons taught to read in a single year amounted to 10,000; and during a period of twenty-four years 150,212 persons, varying between the ages of six years and seventy, had been taught to read the Bible in their mother tongue.

At his death Griffith Jones left in the hands of his friend, Madam Bevan, his fortune of more than £7,000, to be applied in furtherance of the objects to which his life had been dedicated, and that lady, who died in 1779, faithfully bequeathed his estate and books, as well as the residue of her own property, to the use of the Welsh Circulating Schools. A few years after-

wards the Trust was suspended owing to an unfortunate lawsuit, and was only revived in 1809, with certain çy-pres modifications as to the application of the fund, under a scheme of the Court of Chancery. 'Jones of Llanddowror,' moreover, left not only his worldly fortune for the maintenance of the schools whose existence was due to his zeal and self-sacrifice, but also the more enduring legacy of an example which inspired and helped to fashion the subsequent religious and intellectual life of his fellow-countrymen. It is even probable that his own eyes saw the man of like mould to himself, who was destined to continue in the same spirit, but on a larger scale, and with results more far-reaching, the educational work for which he had lived and died.

Thomas Charles, 'Charles or' Bala,' as he came to be lovingly called, was born in 1755, when the fame of Griffith Jones was at its zenith and his personality was the great formative influence in the religious life of the Principality. He was ordained deacon in 1785, and shortly after entering upon his clerical duties, he was struck by the ignorance of the people in his parish. This led him to inquire into the condition of other parts of the country, and he found that the people of Wales, owing to the decline of the Circulating Schools, were once more largely destitute of means of instruction. Thomas Charles set himself to the task of removing the evil. The people, when appealed to, evinced a thirst for knowledge, and Charles was able to raise funds, but could find no teachers. His next step was to train a number of teachers, employing them in the first instance to teach children in his own neighbourhood under his personal

direction, supplying them with catechisms and text-books which he compiled and published. The schools succeeded, and soon covered the whole of Wales, the teachers being paid out of a fund raised and administered by Charles, who also visited the districts where schools were planted or required, encouraging and directing the teachers, and exhorting the inhabitants to support them. The teachers taught not only the children on the week-days, but also adults on Sundays and certain evenings in the week. The instruction was as a rule imparted in the Welsh language, but whenever there was a demand for English teachers they were supplied from among a number of young men whom Charles had sent to England for their training. The salaried teacher remained in the same neighbourhood for six or nine months only, according to local requirements; but his place was generally taken by voluntary teachers whom he had instructed and inspired, for care was taken in the selection of teachers that they should be endowed with missionary zeal as well as intellectual ability.

Thomas Charles's movement speedily penetrated into every part, almost every parish, of the Principality. In a few years the general ignorance gave way to a general ability to read, followed by a demand for the Welsh Bible which no existing agency was able adequately to supply. So general and insistent was this demand that Charles, at a meeting which he attended in London, suggested the formation of a society to promote the publication and circulation of the Welsh Bible, and the adoption of this proposal not only secured an ample supply of the Holy Scriptures for Welsh use, but led to

the establishment of the world-embracing British and Foreign Bible Society.

The day-schools, never intended to be more than temporary expedients, were in course of time discontinued or superseded by other agencies, but the teaching on Sundays, which ultimately became a purely voluntary service, developed into the Welsh Sunday-school, an institution unique by reason of its spontaneous growth, its democratic constitution, and a comprehensiveness embracing all classes and ages of the population. The Sunday-school became not merely an organization for educating children, and an agency of spiritual and moral instruction, but it also helped largely to make the Welsh a self-taught and a self-governing people. Each Sunday-school divides itself into a number of classes for the study of the Bible and the discussion of theological problems, with the result that the spirit of inquiry and the faculty of expression and exposition are stimulated and developed. Moreover, the Sunday-schools, though attached to the religious societies, possess an organization of their own—an autonomy in which church officers, whether lay or cleric, rank as ordinary members and are subject to another hierarchy with an order and a discipline of its own. These peculiarities of the Sunday-school have been deemed worthy of mention because they explain to some extent the subsequent development of higher and intermediate education in Wales, and the self-governing and democratic character which that movement assumed, as well as its independence of English educational influences and traditions.

The educational work of Thomas Charles was part

of a great religious movement. The Methodist revival—the outcome in Wales of the impassioned eloquence of Howell Harries and Daniel Rowlands, and of the inspired hymns of Williams of Pantycelyn—had profoundly stirred the heart and conscience of the people. But the revival would have had little permanent result had it not been followed by the rapid multiplication of Sunday-schools and by the widespread dissemination of the Scriptures in the Welsh tongue. As it happened, the educational agencies, such as they were, which continued and consolidated the work of the revivalists, effected a great and permanent change in the character of the people. The Established Church, to its incalculable loss, quite failed to gauge and to utilize the spiritual and intellectual forces thus quickened in an emotional and imaginative race. Driven upon themselves, the people formed new religious connections of their own. Dissent was, of course, rife in Wales before the Methodist revival, but it was the Methodist revival alone that, in the main, made the Dissenting bodies the well-knit organizations and the potent factors in the development of the national life which they have ever since remained. Nor should it be forgotten that one powerful organization, the Calvinistic Methodist body, was the direct offspring of that revival.

No survey of the educational history of the Principality would be complete which left out of account the profound influence of Nonconformity in stimulating the popular demand and effort for higher education. The Church in Wales, as elsewhere, has been from the earliest times down to our own a nursery and a home of learning, and in spite of its

failure in modern times to retain the allegiance of the mass of the Welsh people, it can point to an honourable record of voluntary effort to reach the people through its own educational agencies. But it must be said that Nonconformity, far more than the Church, determined and shaped the character of the modern national movement which culminated in the foundation of the University of Wales. That movement has derived its strength from its widespread popular character, from the way in which it has drawn unto itself the interest, the active co-operation, and the self-sacrificing generosity of the common people. The intelligent interest in education, the capacity to participate in and to understand the work of educational administration, and the habit of constant pecuniary sacrifice on behalf of educational objects, for which the Welsh people, as a whole, are pre-eminently distinguished, are qualities acquired, in the main, in the disciplinary grooves of Dissent. Self-government and self-dependence were the lessons learnt in the Sunday-school and in the democratic and self-supporting religious societies which sprang up everywhere after the revival.* We shall have occasion again to notice how the educational leaders of a later day derived both stimulus and effective practical assistance in their public

* The late Mr. Thomas Ellis, M.P., in his evidence before the Welsh Land Commission, 1893, speaks of the influence of the chapel organizations in rural Wales as follows: 'The people in these Welsh villages have learnt, during the last 150 years, the most valuable lessons of self-government. Their chapels have been to them a splendid education in self-government; they manage these chapels and manage their organizations with admirable skill and success.'

work from the people who had thus been trained to habits of intellectual and material self-help. Suffice it here to point out that the religious revival of the eighteenth century, leading though it did to 'the great schism' in the ecclesiastical history of Wales, was in its effect upon the educational and moral advancement of the people a turning-point in the national history. 'It was, in fact, the new birth of a people. It would be going too far to say that it created a new national character—that, of course, was impossible; but it profoundly changed and strengthened the mental and moral qualities of the Welsh-speaking people.'*

The eighteenth century in Wales also witnessed a literary awakening which, though far less profound in its influence upon the national character than the religious revival, did much to prepare the way for the modern educational movement. Lewis Morris, Goronwy Owen and Evan Evans (Ieuan Brydydd Hir), the latter of whom advocated the establishment of a Welsh national College or University, stand out as the chief names that make this period memorable in the history of Welsh literature. But they were only the leaders among a group of bards and scholars whose aims were to revive the study of the older Welsh literature, to bring the best scholarship of the day to bear upon the investigation of ancient Welsh manuscripts and of the primitive forms of the language, and to perpetuate the better features of the native bardic tradition in their own literary practice. Edward Llwyd, a scholar of rare insight and, for his time, of profound learning, had

* Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, 'The Welsh People,' p. 474.

earlier in the century pointed the way to a more scientific study of Welsh and of its philological relation to other languages. The scholars and students of the middle and of the later years of the eighteenth century were largely animated by his spirit of antiquarian research. They strove to the best of their means and opportunities to unearth and to interpret many forgotten documents, and though the actual results of their investigations may appear scanty and jejune enough when tried by modern standards, one cannot easily calculate the extent of the debt which Welsh scholars of to-day owe to the stimulus and the direction which these men gave to the critical study of the Welsh language and literature. Lewis Morris and his circle of friends and correspondents brought Wales into the general intellectual movement of their time. Their place is with the band of English literary critics and antiquaries who revived the study of medieval legend and literature, of the origins of old English poetry, of the ballad, of Chaucer. They claim fellowship with Gray, with the Wartons, with Bishop Percy, with Tyrrwhitt. Evan Evans exchanged much correspondence with Percy, and supplied Gray with the subjects of more than one of his minor poetical fragments. His translated 'Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards' and his Latin 'Dissertatio de Bardis,' have brought him some renown outside his own country. To Welshmen he is known besides as second only to Goronwy Owen among the poets of his time. Lewis Morris, in addition to his literary achievements and his scholarly quests, deserves to be remembered as one of the founders of the Honourable Society of Cymmro-

dorion, an association formed in London in 1751 for the advancement, among other things, of Welsh learning. The Cymmrodorion Society, which, as we shall see, took an active part at a later period in providing opportunities for the discussions which gave impetus and shape to the University movement, was the parent of a large number of minor societies which, in different ways, contributed largely to the growth of Welsh culture. These societies, between them, prepared the way for the revival of the Eisteddfod, which dates from a 'Congress' held at Carmarthen in 1819 at the instance of the Cambrian Society of Dyved. The national festival, thus resuscitated, led in its turn to the periodical holding of provincial festivals, modelled upon it, in various parts of the Principality. These, again, stimulated the foundation of literary societies in countless towns and villages all over Wales—societies which came in time to hold their own local gatherings, occasionally dignified by the name 'Eisteddfod,' and which helped largely to fuse and to bring into harmony the purely literary culture of the bards and their coterie and the Biblical culture of the Sunday-school and the chapel. For, at one time, there was more than a veiled hostility between the Welsh lettered class and the Dissenters. The scholars and the bards of the eighteenth century were mostly either clergymen of the Establishment, often indigent enough, like Evan Evans, who in his letters breathes cordial dislike of the Methodists while he is at the same time fully alive to the shortcomings of the Church, or frank men of the world like Lewis Morris and his two brothers. The Dissenting leaders, although many of them were well educated men and painful

students of theology, took scant heed of the literary movement, and appear to have inherited not a little of the old prejudice against bards as profane and dissolute vagrants. But when the first fervour of the religious awakening came to be tempered and guided by the educational influence of the Sunday-schools, and when the solid results of the revival of native literature and learning—attested, for example, by so signal a monument of research and of editorial labour as 'The Myvyrian Archæology'*—began to be dimly appreciated by the popular reader, the two great forces which were making for popular culture were directed into a common channel. They have never, it is true, been completely fused. Welsh Puritanism, whatever guise it has taken among the Nonconformist bodies, has ever failed to subdue certain types of the literary temperament, while there has always been a small but stubborn class of religionists to whom the Eisteddfod is almost as obnoxious as the variety stage, and to whom all forms of secular learning spell so many incentives to sinful pride of understanding. But the popular Welsh culture of to-day, such as it is—the culture which has aroused the popular demand for higher education—is the combined result of what was best in both the movements we have just described. In other words, the common people of Wales owe such intellectual interests as they possess—and it is admitted by impartial English

* The combined work of Owen Jones—'the Denbighshire statesman,' as Matthew Arnold calls him, who devoted his acquired wealth to the accumulation of Welsh MSS. and the publication of this particular work—Dr. William Owen Pughe, and Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg).

critics, from Matthew Arnold* downwards, that the average standard of culture among the Welsh peasantry is much higher than it is in England—to the mutually interacting influences of the Eisteddfod and the Sunday-school.

* Matthew Arnold's testimony (in his 'Study of Celtic Literature') to the significance of the Eisteddfod as an instrument of popular culture is well known. 'An Eisteddfod,' he writes, 'is a kind of Olympic meeting; and that the common people of Wales should care for such a thing at all shows something Greek in them, something spiritual, something humane, something (I am afraid one must add) which in the English common people is not to be found.'

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT

THE survey given in the preceding chapter of the influences which made for popular culture in Wales down to the end of the eighteenth century may, at a first glance, appear to have little bearing upon what professes to be the history of a University and its colleges. But the University of Wales has no history in the sense that Oxford or Cambridge, Glasgow or Edinburgh have theirs. Its colleges, situated though they are near what were once famous homes of monastic learning, are themselves but foundations of yesterday. Only one of them possesses buildings which have any pretensions to architectural beauty, and those buildings are still so young that they have gathered about them but few of 'those elevated memorials and sanctifying associations of scholars and poets, of saints and sages, that march in glorious procession through the ages, and make of Oxford and Cambridge a dream of music for the inward ear and of delight for the contemplative eye.'* The two younger colleges still remain unprovided with permanent homes, one being quartered in a dere-

* John Morley, 'Studies in Literature,' p. 195.

lict hotel, while the other leads an uneasy life in tabernacles, congregated around one solid but unsightly pile which once did duty as a hospital. This history has, therefore, no interest for the antiquary or the student of architecture, and but little for those who love to trace the growth of learning and of educational opportunity under the fostering care of a long succession of pious founders. The history of the University of Wales is not the history of great fanes, nor of the hallowed haunts of great scholars, nor yet, as in the case of some of the younger Universities of America, of the embodiment in buildings and equipment of the dreams of some beneficent millionaire. It is rather the history of an idea, an aspiration, conceived and cherished and propagated by a few far-seeing and intrepid spirits, and carried to its ultimate realization by the enthusiasm and the devotion of the people to whom they appealed. The University of Wales is thus—and this, we venture to think, is what gives it a unique position among modern Universities—in a very real sense the expression of 'a people's will.' Hence the necessity of giving some account of the growth of the intellectual life of the people who came to desire and to demand such a thing.

In the present chapter our aim will be to show how the idea of a national University began to take hold of the popular imagination, and how, after many long years of individual and collective effort, the foundation of the first Welsh University College became possible. The movement which resulted in the establishment of the Aberystwyth College represents the first, and by far the most arduous, stage of the long endeavour to give practical embodiment to the University idea. The

founders of that college started with the ambition of establishing a national degree-giving University, but they had so many difficulties to encounter that they had to remain content with an institution whose function for many years never rose above that of preparing for the degrees of the University of London. It was reserved for a later generation—though a few of those who bore the brunt of the first long struggle lived to 'pursue the triumph and partake the gale' of the subsequent movement—to establish two other colleges, the alliance of which with the original University College of Wales resulted in the foundation, under royal charter, of a corporate and self-governing University.

The educational history of the first half of the nineteenth century in Wales is largely the history of private adventure and voluntary effort. The few endowed grammar-schools of the Principality, for the most part, maintained during this period a precarious existence. Some of them actually died of inanition,* while others,

* A notorious example of an ancient foundation closed and deserted for many years was that of the grammar-school at Llanrwst, which was reopened in the latter half of the century, and is now a county intermediate school. One of its pupils, the Rev. Evan Evans, better known in Wales by his bardic pseudonym of Ieuan Glan Geirionnydd (1795-1855), sang of it, in his later years, as a place haunted by bats, 'where erst the strains of Homer and of melodious Virgil were sounded':

'Ystlum a'u mud ehediad
Sy'n gwau eu hwyrdrwm hynt,
Lle pyncid cerddi Homer
A Vergil geinber gynt.'

Dr. Lewis Edwards, in an article in *Y Traethodydd* of 1849 on 'Grammar Schools for Wales,' speaks of these decayed old foundations in language curiously similar to Evans's poetical lament over

owing to gross malversation of funds or to the incompetence and indolence of their headmasters, were on the verge of decay. Their history up to the year 1849, and their condition at that time, are exhaustively dealt with by Sir Thomas Phillips in his 'Wales,' where he sums the matter up in the following words:

'The extensive decay of grammar-schools in Wales has been brought about partly by the influence of social changes and natural causes, and partly by the defective government to which they are subjected and the imperfect provision made by our law for the correction of abuses to which they are exposed.'

Most, if not all, of these foundations were governed by Churchmen, and few besides sons of Church parents or protégés of the clergy and the landed gentry were educated in them. Dissenters who set any value on their distinctive religious principles were obliged to look elsewhere for the education of their children, and during the first half of the century a goodly number of private-adventure schools, conducted mostly by Nonconformist ministers, were established in the more populous districts. Several of these denominational, or, as some of them might be styled, undenominational

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the fate of the Llanrwst school. Could the Welsh people, he writes, be roused to a thorough sense of their educational needs, 'there would be a general revolution in the world of the spider, who now holds undisturbed possession of many a famous old school, and should one succeed in escaping the general destruction that would befall his house and family, he would doubtless be not a little surprised to hear once more the glorious accents of old Homer's tongue.' In those days, it will be seen, they had no doubts about the place which Greek should have in a school curriculum.

'academies' provided what was, for the time, quite a respectable education, and many of the most eminent Welshmen of the nineteenth century owed to them their first intellectual stimulus.

Elementary education was, of course, provided entirely by voluntary organizations, of which the National Society was the first in the field. The British and Foreign School Society did not turn its attention seriously to Wales until the year 1843, when the Rev. John Phillips was appointed agent for the Society in North Wales. Before his appointment there were only two British schools in the whole of Wales. By the end of 1846 there were over 5,000 children in attendance at British schools in North Wales alone. Mr. Phillips's appointment, which marks the beginning of organized popular effort for education in Wales, was made at the instance of the late Sir Hugh Owen. Mr. Owen, as he then was, was a clerk in the Poor Law Commission Office, and in August, 1843, he published 'A Letter to the Welsh People,' in which he urged the establishment of British schools in every part of the Principality. This document made a profound impression upon the public mind in Wales, and at once gave Mr. Hugh Owen a position of unique influence among his fellow-countrymen. From this time forward he came to be regarded by them as their chief counsellor and leader in all educational affairs. For twenty years Mr. Hugh Owen worked indefatigably—attending numberless committees, interviewing or corresponding constantly with the officials of the Education Department, addressing public meetings, writing letter after letter to the Welsh and English press—for the educa-

tional advancement of Wales, with the result that in 1863 we find him taking his place as the inevitable and unchallenged head of the first movement for establishing a Welsh University.

Voluntary effort in Wales during the first half of the last century was not confined to the establishment of elementary schools. The rapid growth of Nonconformity consequent upon the religious revival turned the attention of the leaders of the various Nonconformist bodies to the need of making some provision for the education of their ministers. The English Universities, like most of the Welsh grammar-schools, were closed against them. So the Nonconformists had to found seminaries of their own, in which their ministerial students might obtain not only a certain amount of training in theology, but also as advanced a general education as the denominations could supply. The Independents and the Baptists had established one or two such institutions even before the Great Revival. The earliest of the Independent academies—that which subsequently developed, after a chequered career involving many changes of home, into the so-called 'Presbyterian' College* at Carmarthen—was opened by one Samuel Jones at Brynllywarch, in Glamorganshire, as far back as 1662. In 1732 we hear of the establishment of the first Baptist seminary, in the vicinity of Pontypool. But it was during the early

* The Carmarthen College, although still called 'Presbyterian,' is now to all intents and purposes an Independent College. It is, however, open to all Protestant Nonconformists, and no dogmatic creed is enforced on either professors or students. One of the best known of all its professors, the late Dr. G. Vance Smith, was a Unitarian.

years of the last century that the Nonconformist bodies applied themselves to the organization of their colleges on a solid and permanent basis.

By the year 1850 the Independents had colleges at Carmarthen, Brecon, and Bala; the Baptists at Pontypool and Haverfordwest; and the Calvinistic Methodists at Bala and Trevecca.* Most of these institutions are now purely theological colleges, and are affiliated to the University of Wales in the sense of being places recognised by the University as offering approved courses of study for its degrees in theology. Until quite recently, however,—and one or two of them even yet continue the tradition—the Nonconformist colleges imparted instruction in secular subjects as well as in theology, and at one time were frequented even by laymen. The denominational seminaries supplied for many years to the members of their own connections the place of a free national University. Learning or scholarship, to any very advanced stage, they could not, in the old days, hope to foster, but they were none the less centres of an intellectual light which radiated through every part of the country. Their *alumni*, ministerial and lay, became zealous missionaries of the gospel of higher education, the sense of their own limited educational opportunities making them all the more ardent in the pursuit of better advantages for their children. The principal of one of them† was, as we

* A full list of the Welsh Nonconformist colleges, with the dates of their foundation, etc., will be found in the Appendix.

† Dr. Lewis Edwards, of Bala. Dr. Edwards, as a passage from one of his articles, quoted further on, indicates, was at first an advocate of the establishment in Wales of high-class schools, or colleges, rather than of a University. From his evidence before

shall see, a member of the small group of men who in 1854 started the movement for the establishment of University colleges in Wales, and one who did much by his writings to imbue his fellow-countrymen with a zeal for higher education. All, in their degree, helped to prepare the way for the University, alike by providing for many years a fair general education for an important class in the community and by stimulating interest in education among the people upon whose voluntary contributions they almost wholly depended for support.

The educational zeal of the Nonconformists in the generation after the religious revival was not without its effect upon the Established Church. The increasing power of the Dissenting preachers, who were not only

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the Departmental Committee of 1880, we find that, in his later years, he had grown into a full belief in the necessity of a distinctively Welsh University. But in the days of his greatest power—and few men have exercised a greater educational influence in Wales than he—he was guarded and conservative in all his utterances on the University question. It deserves to be noted that Dr. Edwards, in several of his articles, speaks somewhat pessimistically of the concern of the general body of his fellow-countrymen for higher education. Writing in 1849 of the need of 'Grammar Schools for Wales,' he observes: 'The great obstacle in the way is the low opinion entertained by the Welsh people of the nature and value of education. Here lies the root of the disease, and here the remedy is to be applied. It would be easy to show how to found a number of good schools in North and South Wales; but, to borrow a simile from Sophocles, fine schemes on paper have less substance than "the shadow of smoke," until the country comes to have a real sense of its needs. But we know, however, that it is easier to get the country to feel and to act than many who take upon themselves to lead it imagine. Could our fellow-countrymen once be brought to have a right conception of what education is, and of it value, the demand would soon create the means of adequately providing for the need.'

emptying the parish churches, but attaching to themselves thousands of people who had been utterly indifferent to the ministrations of the Church, could not but be viewed with the gravest alarm by those Churchmen who had any concern for the welfare of the Establishment in Wales. The great majority of the clergy were helpless to stem the rising tide. They had effectually lost touch with the people, and nowhere among them was there to be found a Welshman of commanding gifts and of spiritual earnestness who could give them heart and confidence to meet the advancing Dissenters on their own ground. It occurred, however, to a number of leading Churchmen that something might be done to regain lost ground by providing better education for such of the clergy as were called upon to minister to the Welsh people in their own tongue.

In 1803 Dr. Burgess was appointed to the See of St. David's, and he soon became convinced of the need of enabling native candidates for holy orders in his diocese to obtain a collegiate education in their own country. Many of them found it quite beyond their means to proceed to Oxford or Cambridge. There were no sustentation funds or bounties at the disposal of the Church authorities, and most of the poor Welsh youths who found their way to the English Universities were dependent upon the casual support of some generous but irresponsible private patron. Dr. Burgess saw that what was required was a college in the Principality itself, at which candidates for orders might obtain a good liberal education at a comparatively small cost. He accordingly set to work to raise funds for the

establishment of such an institution, and after a long struggle, during which he had to overcome much hostile criticism, his efforts were crowned with success. In 1822 the foundation-stone was laid at Lampeter of a college to be called the St. David's College, 'for the reception and education of persons destined for Holy Orders.' The buildings, comprising a chapel, hall, library, rooms for fifty-five students and residences for professors and tutors, and erected at a cost of £20,000, were formally opened five years later, and the College was incorporated by royal charter on February 6, 1828. The charter declares the reason for the foundation of the College to be 'that the majority of persons intended for Holy Orders in South Wales were unable, by reason of the expense, to pursue their studies in the English Universities.'

An interesting account of the condition and prospects of St. David's College some twenty years after its foundation is given in Sir Thomas Phillips' 'Wales.'* From the suggestions which Sir Thomas Phillips offers in that volume for the enlargement and better endowment of the College, and for the extension of its usefulness, we find that the idea of establishing a degree-giving University in Wales had begun to take a practical form even before the year 1849. To Churchmen

* The volume which bears this comprehensive title is virtually a history of Welsh education down to the year 1849, and contains an invaluable survey of the condition of the country and of its educational establishments of all grades in that year. The work, written from the standpoint of a patriotic Welsh Churchman, 'originated,' as the author tells us, 'in a conviction that the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the state of education in Wales (1847) had given currency to very erroneous impressions regarding the character of the native inhabitants of the Principality.'

like Sir Thomas Phillips the College at Lampeter seemed to be the natural foundation upon which to build such a superstructure.

'If the appointments, means of study, and regulations of St. David's College,' wrote Sir Thomas Phillips, 'are of a similar character to those of our other Universities, and the attainments of the students reach the same standard, it is a hardship to withhold from that College the like privileges which have so recently been conferred on the University of Durham. The only substantial objection,' he continues, 'to confer the privileges of a University on St. David's College is occasioned by the limited purpose for which it was constituted—namely, the preparation of men for the clerical profession. By the charter it is required that there shall be founded one perpetual college, for the reception and education of persons destined for Holy Orders, but there is nothing to prevent the foundation of another college or hall, for instruction in arts, science, and general literature, as well as divinity, should such a proceeding be necessary by reason of any formal or technical regulation. It is, however, difficult to discover any valid reason why a power to grant degrees in arts and divinity should not be given when the means exist to teach those branches of knowledge efficiently.'

The privilege of granting a degree in divinity was extended to St. David's College soon after these words were written, for in the year 1852 the College obtained a charter empowering it to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. By an enlargement of this charter in 1865 the College was empowered to confer the additional degree of Bachelor of Arts. St. David's

College, however, was not destined to become either the nucleus or even an integral part of the University of Wales. On two separate occasions, as we shall see, endeavours were made to include the College in the scheme for a national University. Ecclesiastical interests, however, proved to be an insuperable obstacle, and St. David's College to-day remains practically outside the University, for it has not as yet availed itself of the privileges conferred upon it by the standing orders of the University as a place 'approved and accepted' in the matter of providing instruction for its theological degrees.

Sir Thomas Phillips' 'Wales' was a Welsh Churchman's reply to the unfavourable reflections cast upon 'the character of the native inhabitants of the Principality' in the Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1846 to inquire into the state of education in Wales. The details of that Report and the fierce controversy which it aroused do not concern us here. The inquiry, extended as it was far beyond the limits strictly assigned to it, still lives in the memory of Welshmen under the name of 'The Treason of the Blue Books' (*Brâd y Llyfrau Gleision*). The people to whom the Report gave greatest offence were the Nonconformists, and several of their leaders replied to it with passion and power.* Sir Thomas Phillips, however, felt that not only Welsh Nonconformity, but the Welsh national character, had been assailed, and his book was written

* The chief Nonconformist writer and speaker who combated the Commissioners' strictures in English was the late Henry Richard, M.P. In Welsh Dr. Lewis Edwards, the Rev. William Rees (Gwilym Hiraethog), and the Rev. Evan Jones (Ieuan Gwynedd), were the chief critics of the Report.

with the view of giving English readers as full and accurate an account as possible both of the moral condition and of the educational agencies of the Principality. His exhaustive review of the condition of Welsh education in the year 1848 itself affords the best example of the benefits which the notorious Commission of 1846 indirectly conferred upon Wales. A book which was commenced as a sort of national *apologia* gradually assumes the form of an educational document of the highest practical value, closely packed with present facts and statistics and full of suggestions for future development and reform. For, however unjudicious and unfounded many of the strictures of the Commissioners may have been, the inquiry had at least the effect of supplying a much-needed stimulus to educational effort in the Principality.

The appointment of the Commission was itself the result of increased public interest in education. As we have already seen, Mr. Hugh Owen and the British and Foreign School Society had begun in 1843 to appeal to the Nonconformists to bestir themselves in the work of elementary education. The storm which followed the publication of the Commission's Report only led the Nonconformists to redouble their efforts in this direction. Mr. Hugh Owen in particular devoted himself unsparingly to the prosecution of new educational schemes. He was already beginning to look beyond the limited range of primary education. In 1846 we find him urging his fellow-countrymen to face the question of providing training colleges for primary school teachers. This, in turn, led him to dream dreams of collegiate education of a still more

ambitious type, and it was at his instance that a small conference was held in London in 1854 to discuss a proposal for the establishment in Wales of colleges on similar lines to the Queen's Colleges which had a short time previously been founded in Ireland. It is this London meeting of 1854 that marks the real beginning of the movement for the foundation of the University of Wales.

The idea of a Welsh University had already, in some form or other, taken root in the minds of several leading Welshmen. Sir Thomas Phillips had, as we have seen, conceived the possibility of making a University out of St. David's College, Lampeter. He, however, left out of account in his design the growing needs and claims of the Nonconformists, and it is noteworthy that in the very year in which the privilege of conferring a degree in theology was extended to Lampeter a number of Welsh Churchmen petitioned the House of Commons for the establishment of a University in Wales on much broader lines than anything contemplated by Sir Thomas Phillips. It appears that as far back as 1821 there had been founded in Yorkshire a society calling itself 'The Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding.' This society was in the habit, among other things, of celebrating St. David's Day in the modern festive fashion and of discussing at its gatherings projects for the national advancement of Wales. How much in advance of their time these Welsh clergymen in Yorkshire were is attested by their remarkable pronouncement on the question of a Welsh University in the year 1852. They actually sent a petition to Parliament which, while approving the concession to

Lampeter of the power of conferring theological degrees, expressed the opinion that, having regard to

'the peculiar state of the Principality, where four-fifths of its inhabitants are estranged from the Established Church, nothing short of a University founded on broad and liberal principles can meet the present necessities of the country, or raise the moral and intellectual character of its people, be they Churchmen or Dissenters.'

The petition went on to give detailed suggestions, which we need not discuss, as to the constitution and government of a national University. In the light of all that has happened since, it is surprising to find that in 1852 a group of Welsh Churchmen had formed definite convictions of so liberal a character upon a national question which even the boldest and most intelligent Nonconformist leaders in Wales had not as yet had the courage to attack.

Nor was it from the ranks of official Nonconformity that the next notable public pronouncement on the subject came, but from a young Welshman then pursuing his studies in the University of Glasgow. He was Mr. B. T. Williams, afterwards Queen's Counsel and Member of Parliament for the Carmarthen Boroughs. Mr. Williams went to Glasgow, as he afterwards stated in evidence before the Departmental Committee of 1880, because he had a conscientious objection to the religious test imposed at Oxford, and had not, at that early stage in its career, much belief in the academical value of the degrees of the University of London. In 1853 he published a pamphlet on the need of establishing a University in Wales somewhat

similar in type to the Glasgow University. Although himself a Nonconformist, and approaching the question from the standpoint of the disabilities of his fellow Nonconformists in Wales, Mr. Williams was willing to give the Established Church a place of precedence in his proposed University such as the Presbyterian Church of Scotland enjoyed at Glasgow. In his evidence before the Committee of Inquiry in 1880 Mr. Williams described his essay as a 'boyish dream,' to which, twenty-seven years after its publication, he had apparently ceased to attach any very serious importance. But it attracted more attention and exercised a greater influence than its author was ever, perhaps, aware of. At any rate, the late Lord Aberdare, at the opening of the University College at Cardiff on October 27, 1883, referred to it as striking 'the first note' in the University movement.

Mr. Hugh Owen, when he invited a number of prominent Welshmen to confer together on the subject of higher education in April, 1854, had neither seen nor heard of Mr. B. T. Williams' pamphlet, and the proposals discussed at that meeting were of a much less ambitious character than the scheme adumbrated by Mr. Williams. It was to Ireland that Mr. Hugh Owen, then as always in quest of what was immediately practicable, turned for precedent and example. The Queen's Colleges which had then just been established in Ireland seemed to him to be the type of institution required in Wales, and he was in hopes that, under due popular pressure, Government might be prevailed upon to extend to the Principality advantages similar to those already secured for Ireland. The meeting which

Mr. Owen called together was held in London, at the house of the late Mr. Thomas Charles, a kinsman and the bearer of the illustrious name of the founder of the Welsh Sunday-schools. There were present at that meeting several men whose names are written large on the history of Welsh Nonconformity during the nineteenth century. Among them were the Rev. Lewis Edwards (Principal of the Bala College), Dr. David Charles, the Rev. Henry Rees, the Rev. Samuel Roberts (Llanbrynmair), the Rev. Richard Humphreys, of Dyffryn, and Mr. Richard Davies, afterwards M.P., for Anglesey. Mr. Owen's proposals were received with warm approval, and a sub-committee, consisting of himself, Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Osborne Morgan, and Mr. E. G. Salusbury, then M.P. for Chester, was appointed to draw up a formal scheme for the establishment of colleges in Wales on the Irish model. The 'Outline of Constitution of Proposed Welsh Queen's Colleges,' drafted by this sub-committee, will be found given in full in Appendix No. 1 to the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Departmental Committee of 1880. The outbreak of the Crimean War prevented the active prosecution of the scheme while the enthusiasm of its promoters was still fresh, and as in 1856 the energies of the leader of the movement came to be all but absorbed in the project of providing a training college for teachers in North Wales, nothing was done for some years to direct public attention to the need of establishing either provincial colleges or a University.

In the year 1862, however, the movement received a fresh and much-needed stimulus. Dr. Thomas Nicholas,

a Nonconformist minister, wrote in that year a series of letters to the *Cambria Daily Leader* upon the defective provision for higher education in Wales, and containing many practical suggestions for reform.* These letters traversed the whole ground of higher education, and were subsequently published in pamphlet form under the title, 'Middle and High Schools, and a University for Wales.' The publication of these letters at once attracted the attention of Mr. Hugh Owen, who hailed their author as a welcome and powerful ally in the great work for which he had laboured for so many years. At the invitation of Mr. Owen, who had already discovered the possibilities of the Eisteddfod as an agency of his educational propaganda, and was then organizing a 'Social Science' section to be attached to the national institution, Dr. Nicholas attended the Swansea Eisteddfod of 1863, and read at one of its sectional meetings a paper on Welsh education. It was then that the National Eisteddfod was drawn for the first time into the Welsh University movement. From this time forward its sectional meetings, particularly those held in alliance with the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, came

* In a pamphlet published in 1886, the late Rev. Dr. David Thomas, of Stockwell, claims the credit of having kindled the zeal of Dr. Nicholas. 'I wrote,' he states, 'a letter on the subject [of a Welsh University] to the *Cambria Daily Leader*, a newspaper established and owned by my son, David Morgan Thomas, the first daily paper started in Wales. A week after the appearance of my letter I met with Dr. Thomas Nicholas, then the Tutor of Carmarthen College. I was then red-hot with the idea, and sought to put him ablaze with my fire. I succeeded. He became an enthusiast, and followed up my letter with six most able epistles in the *Cambria Daily Leader* on the question.'

to be devoted more and more to the discussion of educational subjects, and finally afforded the leaders of the University movement their best opportunity of acquainting the public with their schemes and ideals. The result of the Swansea meeting was a conference in London between Mr. Hugh Owen, Dr. Nicholas, Mr. Osborne Morgan and Mr. Morgan Lloyd, sometime M.P. for the Anglesey Boroughs. These gentlemen discussed mainly the stillborn project of founding Queen's Colleges in Wales, but they appear to have considered also the larger question of a University. The practical conclusion they came to was to invite the leading friends of education in the Principality to form themselves into a Provisional Committee for the purpose of providing Wales with better educational facilities. Dr. Nicholas was requested to prepare a draft address, to be printed and forwarded to the persons invited to act on this Committee. His address is of sufficient historical interest to warrant our giving it here in full:

'Many persons of enlightened and patriotic sentiments have long felt that something ought to be done to secure for the Welsh people those means of obtaining a liberal education which are possessed by all other provinces of the British Empire.

'Incredible as it may seem, Wales, with nearly a million and a quarter inhabitants, remains to this day without a single high-class College. While popular education in common schools is advancing rapidly, no systematic effort has as yet been made to provide proportionate advantages for the middle and upper classes.

'There is not in the whole of Europe a country so populous as Wales in which such a want has been suffered

to exist. Among the provinces of the United Kingdom, Wales stands alone destitute of superior colleges and of the means of rewarding literary merit with University honours.

'Ireland and Scotland have been liberally provided for. The English Government has expended above £100,000 in erecting three Queen's Colleges and a Queen's University for Ireland (although that island possessed already the University of Dublin and the Royal Belfast Institution), and is expending some £22,000 annually in support of these and other high-class institutions, in addition to about £300,000 per annum given towards common school education in Ireland. Scotland, which has for many ages been in possession of four great Universities, where some 4,000 of her sons are under continual training, has recently had the income of these seats of learning supplemented by not less than £20,000 per annum out of the English exchequer. The corporation of the University of London receives £5,000 per annum from the same source. Wales alone has been passed by without notice, and left destitute of the means of educating her own children.

'It is useless to complain of the backward and obscure condition of the Welsh people, while no proper efforts are made to put them on a footing of intellectual equality with their neighbours. Such condition is not traceable to poverty, to intellectual inferiority, or to any of the social or political evils which corrupt or degrade a nation. No portion of the British people is endowed with a quicker or more penetrating intellect, none is more ambitious of obtaining knowledge, or more able to appreciate and use it when obtained.

'To send the youth of the Principality on any large scale to England for education has been found impractic-

able. Economy and convenience require that they should be educated nearer home.

'While anxious to discourage all fanciful ideas of nationality, we cannot but feel that the Welsh people have an equal right with others to educational institutions of their own, and that, if possessed, such institutions would, from the very fact of their nationality, be valued and loved. At the same time, it is obvious that their establishment would powerfully contribute to spread a knowledge of the language and literature of England among the people of Wales.

'The material wealth and commercial importance of the Principality are every day increasing. Our mines and manufactures, our railways and shipping interests, are rapidly expanding. The demand for educated talent, for scientific acquirements, for engineering skill—in a word, for all the results of a liberal training—is becoming more and more imperative. With the rapid increase of the opulent class of residents, and of offices requiring educated men, the paucity of our means of education is becoming painfully apparent.

'The direction of our large and lucrative undertakings, the chief posts in the country which require superior skill and attainments, are monopolized by strangers. The Welshman has to struggle in an unequal race, and is necessarily left behind. Let Wales have 2,000 of her sons under daily University training (about the proportion found in Scotland), and a different result will certainly follow.

'To meet this national want a provision truly national must be made. Colleges must be formed for the education of the *nation*, and in order that they may awaken no sectarian or party antipathies they must be perfectly free from all sectarian or party preferences. It is essential to

success that all classes and all denominations should join hands in the work. A University for Wales must embrace the whole Welsh people, and must clash with no existing educational institutions.

'It is believed that colleges and a University on the plan of the Queen's Colleges and University in Ireland, with certain necessary modifications to meet the peculiarities of the country, would supply all that is required, and it is hoped that the bounty of the public in Wales, of patriotic Welshmen and others in England, and of the English Government combined, will prove more than sufficient to carry the enterprise to a successful issue.'

All to whom this communication was addressed were invited to meet at the Freemasons' Tavern in London on December 1, 1863. The gathering so convened promised well for the success of the undertaking, representative as it was of every class then interested in the educational wants of Wales. The late Mr. William Williams, at that time M.P. for Lambeth, was voted into the chair, and a number of resolutions were passed pledging the meeting 'to seek the immediate establishment of a University, whose course of education shall be comprehensive and complete, and whose degrees and distinctions shall be of standard value among educated men.' The resolutions further stated that the University 'should be a truly national institution, located in the country, presenting accessible means of liberal culture at a moderate cost, and commanding, by reason of its national character, the fullest confidence of the people.' It was to be free from 'all ecclesiastical preferences,' and 'all teaching properly theological' was to be left to the churches. The third resolution

declared 'that, with a view of securing from the Government the aid required for so great an undertaking, it is desirable that the people of Wales should themselves show an adequate interest in the question, and should form a National Fund to meet in part the necessary outlay.' The first to respond to this challenge was the chairman of the meeting with a subscription of £1,000. An Executive Committee was then appointed, and at a meeting held at the same place on December 9 Dr. Nicholas was elected Secretary to the Committee, Mr. G. Osborne Morgan and Mr. Hugh Owen joint Honorary Secretaries, and Mr. Morgan Lloyd sub-Treasurer, Mr. William Williams having at the previous meeting been chosen Treasurer-in-chief.

Early in 1864 the Committee issued a Statement of their aims and proposals. As that Statement is, we believe, accessible only in the first published Report of the University College of Wales, we reproduce some of its more important passages. They are of singular interest as enabling us to discover how far the ideals of the pioneers of 1863 correspond with those of the men who carried the movement to a triumphant issue thirty years later. The Statement opens by disclaiming any desire to establish a University 'which should have the effect of fostering a merely Welsh nationality, and promoting in any degree the separation of the inhabitants of the Principality from the great English community.' The dangers of 'separation' had, apparently, formed one of the stock objections of those who opposed the creation of a University in Wales. Sir Thomas Phillips, even, when he made in 1849 his modest proposal for extending degree-giving powers to

St. David's College, Lampeter, found it necessary to disarm 'an amiable and excellent prelate,' who was apprehensive of 'any measure which would encourage a feeling of separate nationality and prevent the more thorough amalgamation of Wales and England.' 'The establishment of the University of Durham,' Sir Thomas naïvely observes, 'has occasioned no longings for the restoration of the ancient kingdom of Bernicia, and the concession of equal privileges to St. David's College may gratify the self-love of an ardent race, but will prompt no cry of separation.' The necessity of discovering such an analogy is typical of the nervousness with which questions implying the existence of a separate nationality in Wales were discussed fifty years ago. Nobody to-day raises or even apprehensively mentions the 'cry of separation,' although Wales still remains a very different portion of the United Kingdom, in race and sentiment, from the area once comprised in the 'ancient kingdom of Bernicia.' But the cry was vocal enough in 1863 to oblige the promoters of the University scheme to disavow all intention of 'fostering a merely Welsh nationality.' On the question of language the Committee deliver themselves as follows: 'What is required is not the extinction of the Welsh, but the diffusion of English. Let the perpetuation of the vernacular and other peculiarities of the nation be left to the free choice and sympathies of the people, when fully enlightened as to their own interests; but, meantime, let the light enter, and let the barriers which divert the influences of modern civilization in Wales be removed.' There are doubtless many Welsh patriots abroad who will

feel inclined to resent the aspersion implicitly cast in these words upon the enlightenment of their fellow-countrymen of forty years ago. Such 'modern civilization,' they maintain, as has since been allowed to run its course in Wales, at the expense of the native Welsh culture and of Welsh sentiment, has been productive of thoroughly bad results, both moral and educational. We are not going to argue the question but would point out that the actual founders of the University, at any rate, were so far of this opinion as to lay special emphasis upon the encouragement which the establishment of the University would give to the study of the Welsh language and literature and to the full development of all that was best in Welsh institutions and in the Welsh national character.

The Committee's Statement passes from a discussion of 'the University in relation to Wales' to treat of its 'relation to different Sections of the Community.' The 'sections' dealt with under this head are the religious bodies. The University must, above all, be absolutely free from any 'ecclesiastical or denominational peculiarities.' All strictly theological teaching should be given by the denominations in their own seminaries. In view of the relation in which the Welsh theological colleges now stand to the University, it is particularly interesting to note how the Provisional Committee of 1863 proposed to deal with them. 'Seminaries for the ministry of the different denominations,' we read, are numerous; and no provision on this head, (*except, perhaps, an arrangement for simple examination* in the original texts of Scripture) would be required in the proposed University or its colleges.' '*By*

granting the privilege of "affiliation," ' the Statement proceeds, ' *to the colleges of the different religious bodies now existing, which should be found to come up to the required standard*, and by making the new College or Colleges sought to be established in connection with the University equally open to all, and thus distributing benefit without respect to sectarian distinctions, the University would guard itself against all charge of favouritism, and challenge acknowledgment as a truly national institution.' The words we have italicized will show at a glance those proposals of the first Committee which have, approximately, been followed in the actual constitution of the University. The dangerous experiment of creating what some people would call the ' monstrosity ' of an ' undenominational ' theological college ' equally open to all ' has, fortunately, so far been avoided.

We give the rest of the Committee's Statement without abridgment:

' *The Model it is desired to follow.*—The University of London, and the Queen's University in Ireland, offer excellent models. They have the advantage of having received their constitution in modern times and from recent Governments, are thoroughly intelligible to our public men, and have proved the wisdom of those who founded them by their success. They recognise the ecclesiastical peculiarities of the country, and dispense their privileges impartially.

' These institutions in one respect differ from each other. The University of London, as is well known, is not a teaching institution, but simply tests and rewards the merits of candidates, whencesoever they come. The

Queen's University, in Ireland, on the other hand, possesses an educational machinery of its own in the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Galway, and Cork. At the time of its first formation the University of London found its teaching apparatus in colleges already in existence throughout the country, to which it granted the privilege of "affiliation" to itself. By this means a certain unity was secured for the whole confederacy of colleges, and all derived a share of dignity from their relation to the University. It is conceived that the University of Wales would profit from a combination of these two plans. It is very evident that the existing schools of Wales need supplementing by a college or colleges which should afford the means of the most liberal culture. If at some central spot, convenient for the whole of Wales, one high class college can be erected, or, if at two different spots two such colleges can be erected, one for South Wales and one for North Wales respectively, and if all existing colleges of a certain standing can, by "affiliation," be brought into the educational confederacy, the University forming the crown and finish of the whole, and conferring on all an equal honour, all that is needful will be supplied. The University proper will test and reward merit, and the colleges, newly founded and "affiliated"—the former being open to all ranks and denominations without distinction—will supply the education.

'*The University Proper and its Government.*—The University itself, like that of London, would be a corporation of noblemen and gentlemen of education, constituted by Charter from the Sovereign. The government of the University would be entrusted to a Senate, composed of men of high standing in the country, whose appointment, in the first instance, would emanate from the Queen, but who would be probably selected in due proportion afterwards

from the most distinguished graduates of the University, as these increased in number. The Senate would appoint Professors to the newly founded colleges, select examiners, determine the number of scholarships and prizes, and according to the examiner's reports as to the merits of candidates, grant degrees, scholarships, and other honours. The character of the men composing the Senate would place the management of the University above all suspicion of partiality and favouritism.

'*The Scope and Extent of the Education to be Administered by the University.*—Let it be remembered that "University education" embraces a breadth of instruction which fits young men for the various professions and employments of life. It at least aims at laying down such general *basis* of culture as will be a natural introduction to a course of training more distinctly professional, and should, in large measure, supply that very training itself. The young men of the Principality are at present almost totally deprived of such means of extended culture. While in times past the ministry seemed to be the only outlet to native talent, the increase of trade, the introduction of railways, the immense development of mining and manufacturing operations, the openings offered by competitive examination for the higher posts in the Civil and Indian Services, etc., invite the young men of education in our day to a thousand lines of honourable employment and promotion. The varied and comprehensive course of education which the University would supply would fit our young men for such openings. In addition to superior classical, mathematical, and historical attainments, it would secure respectable acquaintance with the natural sciences, engineering, metallurgy, mining, and agriculture—matters which directly concern the great industries of the Principality, but which have hitherto been all but entirely neglected. Juri-

prudence, political economy, medicine, etc., would also doubtless receive attention.

'The incalculable advantage of a national University would be seen not only in the wider scope which it would thus give to the culture of the *individual*, but also, and very especially, in the general *diffusion* it would secure to this culture. Instead of tens we should see hundreds of our youths under competent instruction; and the enterprising Welshman, now almost always thrown into the rear, would soon be found successfully competing with the Englishman and the Scotchman for posts of lucrative employment. If Wales is ever to equal Scotland in winning success for her sons, Wales must have about *two thousand* of her youths under daily collegiate training; and how far she falls short of this at the present time it is not needful to specify.

'The impossibility of thus widely diffusing the means of liberal education otherwise than by the establishment of colleges and a University in the country is a fair and sufficient answer to the statement occasionally made that the youth of Wales should be sent to England for education. It is true that the education of the *few* may thus be carried out, but the education of *many* is the need of our country. It must be allowed that the facilities of modern travelling make it less difficult than formerly to reach the English schools and Universities, but it nevertheless continues true that education nearer home would be both more economical and more abundantly and generally enjoyed. Every people ought to possess the chief institutions of civilized society amongst themselves. It is as abnormal a state of things when a people are obliged to send their children to another country for education as it would be if they were obliged to send them to another country for bread. It were perfectly as reasonable to argue that all cases of litigation in Wales

should be sent up to Westminster Hall, or that the invalids of Wales should be transported to England for advice and cure, as to argue that the youth of Wales should be sent to England for education. Undoubtedly, many advantages would accrue from the latter course, as also from the former. But the question is one of a *balance* of advantages. The few solitary youths of good family who are now sent to the schools of England doubtless have their views of life widened, their manners improved, and their education better conducted. But what of the thousands that are *not* sent? What of those numerous aspiring youths, with keen and noble faculties, whose means are too slender, or whose parents are too parsimonious, to meet the outlay required? These, which form the bone and marrow of the nation, are they for whom we mainly plead when we plead for a national University which shall bring the education of England within the reach of the Welsh student, instead of imposing on the student the formidable sacrifice of travelling to England in search of it —a sacrifice which, in nine cases out of ten, is avoided at the cost of settling down in perpetual ignorance and obscurity, or of resting satisfied with what is unworthy of the name of education.

'*Colleges and a University for Wales are Procurable.*—If it can be made out that Wales is the only Principality in Europe without suitable academic institutions, and that justice to its million and a quarter inhabitants requires that it should possess such institutions, surely the thing shall be accomplished. But the combined efforts of the whole community, especially of its public and influential men, will be required for the realization of so great a boon. The need, however, is so obvious and so pressing, and the good to be secured so paramount, that few will hold back from rendering their share of assistance. Those who have

laboured for the education of the poor will not stand aloof when the education of the middle and higher classes is sought to be advanced in proportionate ratio; and, as united action is essential to the procurement of a *national* University, no supposed conflicting interests, no party jealousies, will be allowed to mar the harmony of the movement. Our noblemen and prelates, our representatives in Parliament, our great employers of labour, our ministers of religion of all sections of the Church, and the different ranks of our magistracy, will doubtless give their countenance and aid in a work so reasonable and beneficent.

'If such general combination is secured among those most interested in the work, who can doubt that a national fund can be raised of such proportions as will gain for the movement the favour of the Legislature? The English Government has already, of its own accord, patronised liberal University education by the establishment of the London University and the Queen's University in Ireland, and by its more recent endeavours to improve, at great cost, the Scottish Universities. Wales alone, though contributing towards the outlay, remains unvisited by this generosity. But the time to do her full justice will soon come, if she is only faithful to herself.'

The Committee's next step was to enter into negotiations with the authorities of St. David's College, Lampeter, with a view to discussing a scheme for the inclusion of that foundation in the proposed University. On April 23, 1864, the Committee met a deputation from the St. David's College Committee, consisting of the Venerable Archdeacon Evans, the Rev. Joshua Hughes of Llandovery (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph), and the Rev. Dr. J. J. L. Perowne, the Vice-Principal of the College. It was agreed at this conference that

'a new College of an entirely open and unsectarian character,' together with St. David's College, which was to retain 'its distinctive character as a Church of England College,' should 'constitute one University, having its Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Senate, etc., who shall have the right of conferring degrees in arts, sciences, etc.' It was further resolved 'that although the University would in the first instance be composed of St. David's College, Lampeter, and the proposed new College, the senate shall have power to affiliate any college in Wales whose course of study shall come up to the required University standard.'

From this resolution we see that the University builders of 1864 started with the idea, which their successors eventually carried out, of establishing a federal University. Unfortunately, difficulties soon arose between the University Committee and the St. David's College authorities, and the federal plan had to be abandoned. When, years afterwards, the proposal to form a federal University was revived, and the inclusion of St. David's College came once more to be discussed, it was found even more difficult to arrive at an agreement satisfactory to the friends of Lampeter. The negotiations of 1864 were broken off, with an expression on the part of the University Committee of 'its unabated cordiality of feeling' towards the Committee of St. David's College, and of 'its continued readiness to welcome the co-operation of that Committee in the effort to obtain a national unsectarian University for Wales.' In 1870 the University Committee, which had by that time become a committee for the establishment of 'The University College of

Wales,' take occasion in their first printed Report to renew their protestations of friendly feeling towards Lampeter, and declare that they 'will rejoice whenever the opportunity shall, as they still trust it may, arise for reconsidering the basis on which they may advantageously co-operate with St. David's College.'

Their failure to secure the co-operation of St. David's College did not discourage the University Committee. They set vigorously to work to diffuse as much information as possible concerning the movement, both through the press and by means of public meetings. They also exerted themselves, by public and private appeals, to raise funds. By the end of the year 1864 the Secretary was able to report that a sum of about £5,000 had been promised in aid of the movement. As time went on the task of raising money became more and more difficult, and the expenses of an undertaking involving so much travel and correspondence were exceedingly heavy. The actual amount paid in subscriptions at the end of four years' work only amounted to £6,913, although additional sums to the extent of £5,435 had been promised. In their Report of 1870 the Committee were obliged to state that, although their efforts had 'to some extent been successful, the amount raised falls far short of the sum required for purposes that can be deemed only of a preliminary character.'

During this long and trying period of effort to enlist the interest and support of the public Mr. Hugh Owen was the main inspirer and guide of the whole movement.* However despondent some of his comrades

* Dr. David Thomas, of Stockwell, in a pamphlet already quoted from (p. 71), attempts to disparage the efforts of Hugh Owen

might from time to time become, nothing clouded his faith or abated his hope. Even in the early days of the movement some of the men who were most favourable to it entertained no very sanguine expectations of success. At any rate, the idea of establishing a national degree-giving University had not taken hold of their imaginations in the actual, vivid, and imperious form which it had assumed in the mind of Mr. Hugh Owen. An article contributed to the Welsh quarterly, *Y Traethodydd*, by Dr. Lewis Edwards, throws an interesting light upon the way in which the movement presented itself in the year 1865 to one of the shrewdest and ablest Welshmen of the day, and one who had himself since 1854 been identified with Mr. Hugh Owen's schemes for higher education.

'Let us not,' writes Dr. Edwards, 'expect too much, and we shall therefore be the less disappointed. And to save the reader from absolute despondency, we would remind him a little more clearly where we exactly stand. We are speaking of the Government's undertaking the cost of establishing a new corporation, independent of the old Universities, for the purpose of giving degrees to the youth of Wales. This is what is meant by a University

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and other leaders of the movement, and to claim much, if not the major part, of the credit for himself and his son. Dr. Thomas attended several of the early committees, as did also his son, Mr. D. M. Thomas, 'who gave up a room in his chambers in the Temple for our Committee meetings.' The pamphlet is somewhat acrid in tone throughout. Dr. Thomas concludes by disclaiming any wish to enter upon a troublesome controversy, and declares that he 'will content himself with having, for the future, inserted on the title-pages of all his works, "Originating Founder of University College, Aberystwyth."'

for Wales. To secure colleges for Wales is quite another matter; and to fail in achieving the former object does not argue the impossibility of achieving the latter. We are not opposed to our friends making a strenuous effort to secure a University. A name has much influence over some people; and it is very probable that this name attracts more attention than would the mere proposal to establish two good schools, one in North and the other in South Wales. We would not either be understood to suggest that the thing itself is not worth having. That which at present directs attention to the movement will eventually tend to direct attention to the institution, when it is obtained. But what we desire to impress upon the minds of our fellow-countrymen is that everything does not depend upon their success or their failure to secure a *University*. Let this be demanded and laboured for. Let it be advocated, and shown to be one of the things involved in the demand of "justice for Wales." But if we do not succeed in this particular object, let it not be thought that our efforts are therefore likely to end in complete failure. The chief need of Wales is that of two good schools—two free schools, in the full sense of the term; or, if it is preferred, let them be called colleges. Then, if we fail to get a University, the students can graduate in London. In some respects this would be to the advantage of the better scholars; for, granting that the standard of ordinary degrees in the University of London will be no higher than that of those of the Welsh University, the standard for honours is bound to be much higher, because there will be much more competition.'

From this extract—given in a free translation—we see that one of the most influential Welshmen of the time, himself a graduate of Edinburgh and the

head of a denominational college, approached the question of establishing a degree-giving University with some timidity. It is apparent that Dr. Edwards would have been quite content with the establishment of two high-class free 'schools' or colleges. The 1870 Report of the University College of Wales Committee also reveals the fact that the idea of founding two colleges had been canvassed among the members of that Committee at a very early stage, but apparently without prejudice to the larger project of a University.*

It is of interest to note—especially in view of the fact that one of the constituent colleges of the University of Wales came ultimately to be located in Bangor—that during the years 1865-1866 the erection of one of the proposed two colleges was actually contemplated on a spot just outside the city of Bangor. The Committee received an offer of a free site of seven acres in what was then called the Britannia Park, a tract of land extending, roughly, from the Britannia Tubular Bridge to a point a little nearer Bangor than the Menai Suspension Bridge. About the same time the Committee also received an offer of a site of six acres for a South Wales college in the historic neighbourhood of Llantwit Major. This offer was made by Dr. Nicholl Carne, of St. Donat's Castle, who sub-

* 'The Committee,' we read, 'during the first three years of the movement, had frequently before them the question whether they should endeavour to establish one or two colleges in connection with the proposed University, and also the further question, where the college or colleges should be located; but no definite conclusion was ever come to on either of these points until they had the opportunity of treating for the purchase of the property at Aberystwyth.'

sequently offered even his own residence as a temporary home for the college, provided its permanent buildings were ultimately erected at Llantwit. Thus, as early as 1866, definite proposals were made for the erection of two Welsh colleges, one within a mile or so of the site of the present University College of North Wales, and the other within a short distance of Cardiff. The Committee, however, saw no immediate prospect of raising the funds necessary for the successful prosecution of this dual scheme, and when the opportunity of securing, at a comparatively small cost, a commodious building at Aberystwyth fell in their way, they decided to concentrate their energies upon establishing one University college in mid-Wales. The account of the acquisition of the building at Aberystwyth belongs to the history of the College of which that building, with many substantial and handsome extensions, is still the home.

The Aberystwyth building was purchased on March 6, 1867, and with that date the history of what we have called the 'First University Movement' appropriately closes. At the end of the year 1867 Dr. Thomas Nicholas resigned the secretaryship of the University Committee, and was succeeded by Dr. David Charles. Although compelled by lack of funds to confine themselves to schemes of less ambitious scope than those outlined by their leaders at the beginning of 1864, the Committee still remained faithful to their ideal of a University. The College, to the foundation of which their efforts were now to be exclusively directed, was destined, so they hoped, itself to grow and to expand into the National University of their dreams. They con-

clude the Report of their seven years' labour up to the end of 1870 by affirming their 'unwavering conviction that the object which they are charged to carry out is one intimately connected with the advancement of learning in the Principality and the social elevation of its young men of the middle class, and is at the same time one which commands the warm sympathy of the intelligence and the public spirit of the country, irrespective of class and creed. The Committee are, therefore, prepared to continue to labour faithfully and earnestly till the University for Wales shall be founded.'

CHAPTER VI

THE DEPARTMENTAL INQUIRY OF 1880

THE history of the University movement from 1867 to 1880 is, largely, that of the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth. The foundation of that College at once touched the imagination of the people, and engaged their active interest. The movement had, at last, taken a form which they could comprehend; the idea had became embodied in an institution. For while their schemes remained indefinite, and their appeal for support continued to be made on general principles of the kind affirmed in the Statement of 1864, the University Committee had no little difficulty in arousing popular sympathy and enthusiasm. Particularly difficult was it to get the public to stake their money upon an enterprise which was still so much in the air. So long as they had no clear vision where the proposed University was to have its home, or what precise form its government and academic organization would take, the Welsh people were very slow to respond to the Committee's appeal for funds. As the Committee's first Report and the minutes of their meetings testify, the success of their first three years' canvass for subscriptions fell far short of their expectations.

SIR HUGH OWEN

With the acquisition, however, of the building at Aberystwyth the prospects of the movement speedily brightened. Whereas, according to the 1870 Report, only £1,728 of the subscriptions promised had been paid at the end of December, 1866, we find that in the course of the year 1867 alone no less a sum than £5,185 was received by the Treasurer. Even this substantial increase fell considerably short of the hopes of Mr. Hugh Owen and his more sanguine colleagues, but it was sufficient to indicate that, in deciding upon a place and in acquiring a building, the Committee had, at length, secured a vantage-ground from which they could much more effectively direct their operations. The people came to feel that they had now something tangible and actual to strive for. The University was still an idea, but the building was a fact; and the establishment of one College, at least, now lay well within sight. Five more years of arduous public effort stood between the Committee and the actual opening of the College, but the corner had been turned. When the decision to open the College was finally come to, the Committee met at last with something like the response it had hoped for. At the public breakfast held in celebration of the opening at the College Hall on October 15, 1872, Mr. Osborne Morgan reviewed the long and toilsome struggle in the following words:

'I do not know how Columbus felt when, after being tossed about for weeks and months upon the Atlantic, he first set foot upon the *terra firma* of America, but I think probably that his sensations could not have been very different to the feelings and sensations of the promoters of

this University College movement when they first set foot upon the *terra firma* of Aberystwyth. It is, I think, as nearly as possible twenty years from the day that my friend Mr. Hugh Owen, to whom, perhaps, more than to any other man, this movement is owing, Mr. Salisbury, the late Member for Chester, and myself, first met together to start the idea—for it was nothing more—of a University College for Wales. We thought, as we think now, that common justice required that the blessings of a high-class education, which have been brought to the very doors of the youths of Scotland and Ireland, should no longer be denied to those young men among our countrymen who from want of time or want of means, or of anything else, are debarred from the benefits of an English University education. We also thought that, without in the least degree desiring to hold aloof from the onward march of English literature—for isolation I regard as little less than a crime—we might fairly wish to appeal to the patriotism of our people, to that deep feeling of nationality which has been implanted in their hearts by the same hand which traced out the stormy hills and lovely valleys of this beautiful land. Well, I am afraid that, like some other much greater men, my friend and myself were much before our time. We did not immediately obtain the response we expected, and under the circumstances we did what, perhaps, was the only thing we could have done, but what is, very often, a very difficult thing to do—we waited. And at last the answer came. It came in a chorus, an almost unanimous chorus of approval, marred by no sectarian discord. It came in the shape of contributions pouring in from every side; some most generous and liberal, others significant from the very smallness of their amount; for the smallness of the amount showed that the appeal had touched the strings of the national heart.'

The difficulties which the Committee had to surmount before they could see their way clear to opening the College are best illustrated by a brief survey of the situation as it presented itself in 1871. At a meeting of the subscribers, held on June 1, a statement was submitted of the financial position at that date. A fine building, reported to have cost £80,000 in the erection, had been acquired four years previously for £10,000. But, in spite of every effort on the part of the secretaries and others to obtain pecuniary support, the Committee had failed to find the means of paying the purchase-money, or even to negotiate a loan to pay off their debt to the bank and obtain a transfer of the property. The liabilities of the Committee in respect of the building and other outstanding accounts are given as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Total contributions up to date ...	11,036	6	3
Total payments „ „	10,704	0	10
Balance in hand	332	5	5
Outstanding liabilities on account of building and other accounts	7,452	4	4
Outstanding promises, estimated to realize	4,612	8	7
	2,839	15	9
Less Balance	332	5	5
Deficit	2,507	10	4

The gloomy financial outlook did not, however, deter the subscribers from passing the following resolution: 'That this meeting attaches the utmost importance to the early opening of the College at Aberystwyth for

the admission of students, and although sensible of the serious pecuniary responsibility which would attend such a step, this meeting would encourage the Committee to use their best endeavours to secure that object with the least possible delay.' The first step taken by the Committee, in pursuance of this resolution, was to approach the Government with the view of obtaining some support from the Treasury. On June 21 a deputation, consisting of Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Mr. Hugh Owen, and the Secretary, waited upon Mr. Gladstone and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Prime Minister and his colleague were sympathetic, but could promise no immediate help. The Committee, still undaunted, decided to make an effort to raise a Guarantee Fund of £1,500, and a public appeal was at once issued. By the end of August the entire amount subscribed had only reached £227 10s. 8d. This miserable response effectually dashed any hopes that might have been entertained of the College being opened in October, 1871. On August 30 the Committee met and resolved 'that, looking to the comparatively small amount of the Guarantee Fund, the present liabilities of the Committee, and the further obligations that would follow the opening of the College, the Committee cannot at present make the attempt.' This was, perhaps, the darkest hour in the history of the movement. Two months later, however, the Committee received from Manchester an offer of help which revived their courage. A number of Welshmen in that city met together and agreed to subscribe between them £550 to the Guarantee Fund, in three yearly instalments.

Although these promises were far from sufficient to assure the success of the fund, the Committee came, on the strength of them, to the positive decision 'that the College be opened for educational work not later than October 1, 1872.' This resolution was passed at a special meeting of the Committee on October 26, at the instance of the late Mr. J. Foulkes Roberts of Manchester. It was mainly due to him that the Welshmen of Manchester rallied in support of the movement in 1871, and have ever since remained among the most generous friends of the University College of Wales. Mr. Roberts crowned a prosperous and beneficent commercial career in Manchester as Lord Mayor of the city, and his invaluable services to the Aberystwyth College were recognised by his appointment, some years later, to the vice-presidency of the College.

The opening of the College in October, 1872, added heavily to the responsibilities and anxieties of the Committee. From this time forward, however, that popular response to their appeal for funds which the Committee had looked for came in a form and a volume commensurate with, if not exceeding, their expectations. For several years the College was entirely maintained by voluntary subscriptions, and the extent and character of the annual 'collections' made in aid of it form perhaps the most remarkable demonstration of public zeal and self-sacrifice for higher education witnessed in our time. It was to the contributions made during these years towards the University College of Wales that Members of Parliament and others afterwards pointed as furnishing conclusive proof of the way in which the Welsh people were ready to help

themselves in educational matters, and as constituting their claim to that assistance from the State which alone would enable them to provide for their educational needs on an adequate scale.

The success of this sustained popular effort on behalf of Aberystwyth was due mainly to the devotion and untiring energy of one man. Mr. Hugh Owen, who in 1871 had succeeded Dr. Charles as Secretary to the College Committee, resigned in 1872 his appointment at the Local Government Board in order to give his undivided attention to the work of the College. Up to 1871 the Committee had paid its secretaries, and the expenses incurred by them in travelling, in conducting correspondence, and in the dissemination of literature bearing upon the movement, had been a heavy drain upon the Committee's resources. Mr. Hugh Owen acted for six years as Honorary Secretary to the College, and during that time spared neither time nor money both in attending to the heavy administrative work of the College, and in pressing its claims for support in every part of the Principality, and in the larger English towns. The story of his noble and self-sacrificing enterprise is told, with characteristic absence of reference to his own individual share in it, in the evidence which he gave before the Departmental Committee of 1880. 'The outlook,' he says, speaking of the time when he accepted the honorary secretaryship, 'was not promising, but a number of gentlemen had committed themselves to the undertaking, and had determined that it should not fail for want of funds—at all events, during the first few years of its existence. The plan adopted was this: to raise a guarantee fund of £2,000 a year for three years, each

of the following districts supplying £400 a year towards the amount—namely, London, Manchester, Liverpool, North Wales, and South Wales. The collection of this money was effected by members of the Committee, and was therefore not attended by any expenses.' The result was that not only was the College kept going for three years, but, as Mr. Owen continues, 'in June, 1874, the balance of the purchase-money of the College building, amounting to £7,700 17s. 4d., was paid, and the property duly conveyed to trustees.'

Towards the close of the period covered by this guarantee fund Mr. Owen and his immediate coadjutors found themselves once more in a critical position. How was the College to be maintained in future? The Government still remained obdurate against all appeals for help from the Treasury. Nothing, therefore, remained but to make another organized effort to secure voluntary subscriptions. At this juncture Mr. Hugh Owen derived much good counsel and assistance from the late Mr. John Griffith, well known in Wales as 'Gohebydd,' or 'The Correspondent,' *par excellence*, of his day, he being the London correspondent of the Welsh weekly *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*.* To Mr. Griffith, at any rate, he seems to have been indebted for the suggestion that a house-to-house canvass on behalf of the

* It would be impossible within the limits of such a volume as the present one to indicate the extent of Mr. Hugh Owen's indebtedness to all the friends who gathered round him in this movement, but together with the name of Mr. John Griffith we may be permitted to mention those of the late Rev. Robert Jones, of Rotherhithe, and of Mr. Stephen Evans—almost the sole survivor of the group—as having rendered him, from time to time, invaluable assistance.

College should be conducted in the Principality, and that collections should be made in the chapels. This method of raising funds involved an amount of work and was attended by difficulties of organization which might well have made the stoutest heart quail. But Hugh Owen proved himself equal to it, and by his marvellous energy, tact, and powers both of persuasion and of enlisting the services of efficient helpers, he succeeded in raising what was called a Temporary Sustentation Fund for a further period of three years, the history of which, both as regards the methods of its collection and the number of those who contributed to it, eclipses even the record of the splendid efforts made from 1871 to 1874. How Mr. Owen himself set about his arduous task is best told in the words of his biographer:

'The first step taken by Sir Hugh Owen was to obtain permission to attend the assemblies, annual meetings, and district meetings of the various Nonconformist bodies of Wales. At all of these he was received with respect and cordiality, and resolutions were passed approving the objects of the Aberystwyth College, and commending them to the consideration of the members of the various denominations in Wales. Permission was also obtained for the establishment of "Sul y Brifysgol," or "University Sunday," upon which collections were to be made on behalf of Aberystwyth. During the raising of this three-years' Sustentation Fund, Sir Hugh Owen travelled through all the Principality. At wayside stations and in remote little towns the figure of Sir Hugh Owen, with his small black travelling-bag, became well known. On one of his tours of collection he was accompanied by Mr. J. B. Rogers,

now acting as London Secretary of the College, who says that the plan adopted was for him to go on in advance of Sir Hugh Owen to arrange preliminaries of meetings, to announce them, and to advise Sir Hugh Owen of the appointments made. Sir Hugh would then attend the meetings, discuss plans of operations with those assembled, form committees, put everything in working order, and then proceed to the next place. In this way Mr. Rogers states that he has known Sir Hugh to hold three meetings in three several towns on one and the same day. This service Sir Hugh rendered to the College freely. Although his travelling expenses must have been heavy, no mention even of them is made in the College accounts. By this zealous, self-sacrificing labour he secured to the College not merely the £6,000 which it was at first hoped his efforts might produce, but £8,878 1s. 10d., or nearly £1,000 per annum in excess of the anticipated sum.'*

Of the character of the collections and subscriptions Sir Hugh Owen himself speaks as follows:

'The subscriptions towards this College have not been confined to any class or any sect; the common people as well as the wealthy have contributed. I have already referred to the guarantee of £2,000 a year for three years formed at the starting of the College. At the end of that period it was determined to form a "Temporary Sustentation Fund," and to raise by means of such a fund some £2,000 a year for three years. Accordingly applications were made to the churches and chapels throughout Wales to make congregational collections on the last Sunday in the month of October, 1875, 1876, and 1877, and committees were formed in the various towns for the purpose of making house-to-house collections for

* 'Life of Sir Hugh Owen,' by W. E. Davies, p. 113.

the same three years. The appeals were thus responded to: In the first year the collection realized £3,572 17s. 6d.; in the second year, £2,752 11s. 4d.; and in the third, £2,552 13s., making a total of £8,878 1s. 10d. It must be noticed, however, that these sums include the following large annual subscriptions given specially to this fund—viz.: £333 6s. 8d. by Mr. David Davies, M.P.; £100 by Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P.; and £100 by Mr. Henry Robertson, M.P., together with a donation of £500 from a gentleman who wished the amount to appear as a donation from a "Friend." It will thus be seen that the collections alone of the three years amount to £6,778 1s. 10d., and the special supplemental contributions to £2,100. It appears that of the contributors to these collections, 4,034 gave sums of over 2s. 6d. each; 4,938 gave exactly 2s. 6d. each; and it is estimated that those who gave sums under that amount number at least 100,000. Taking the general contributors towards the College, it is found that 344 persons have given sums of £10 and under £100, 38 sums of £100 and under £500, 7 sums of £500 and under £1,000, and 7 sums of £1,000 and upwards. As already stated, all classes and sects in Wales are found among the supporters of the College. Making as close an estimate as it was practicable to make, I came to the conclusion that 33 per cent. of the total amount raised was contributed by members of the Church of England, 29 per cent. by the Calvinistic Methodists, 24 per cent. by the Independents, and 14 per cent. by other denominations. Though this large amount has been contributed for the purposes of the College in the past, I believe that it will not be practicable to maintain the institution permanently without the assistance of the State.'*

* Evidence in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Welsh Education, 1881, p. 13.

This account of the funds and collections raised in aid of the Aberystwyth College during its early years is given here, rather than in the chapter devoted to the history of that College, because they afford the most notable example in Welsh educational history of popular interest in higher education, and led, more than anything else, to the appointment of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry in 1880. How strongly these voluntary efforts impressed public men in England at the time is attested by a passage from a speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone at Nottingham in September, 1877.

'Let me point,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'to another case with which I am personally acquainted, to show you that, wherever primary education is loved, the higher education must be loved and taught also. I speak of the country of Wales, in which I have the happiness to spend a large portion of my time; and there is no part of the population of the country—and I say it freely and boldly in your hearing—there are few parts of the country which can compete with Wales, and there is no part which can exceed it, from one end of the island to the other, in the earnest, ardent, and, I may say, passionate love for instruction. They are a religious people, and a people deeply enamoured of knowledge, and what they have done has been done with very little assistance. With no assistance at all from any public fund of any kind, they have within the last five or six years founded a large and important College at Aberystwyth. Is it possible for you to have a stronger proof that the existence of a love for primary education does lead on and must lead on to every great effort for the establishment of higher education?'

This 'love for primary education,' which had so impressed Mr. Gladstone, had been strikingly illustrated

by the response made in every part of Wales to Mr. Hugh Owen's appeal of 1843 for the establishment of British schools. In the Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1870-1871, the number of British Schools in Wales is given as 271, with an average attendance of 32,455 children. The Education Act of 1870 greatly advanced the provision made for elementary education in Wales, with the result that at the time Mr. Gladstone spoke at Nottingham there were probably more School Boards in the Principality in proportion to the population than in any other part of the kingdom. The British School movement also led to the establishment of two training colleges, one at Bangor and the other at Swansea. Nor were the educational societies of the Church of England idle during this period of the British and Foreign School Society's activity. Challenged by the designs of that organization upon the Principality, the National Society and other agencies greatly increased the number of the Church day-schools, and by 1850 had opened at Carmarthen and at Carnarvon colleges for the training of teachers.

The establishment of the University College of Wales, together with the great increase in the number and the improvement in the quality of the primary schools, turned the attention of the Welsh educational reformers to another defect in the educational system of the Principality. It was during the seventies that the cry for intermediate, or secondary, education other than that supplied by the endowed grammar-schools of Wales first became articulate. The grammar-schools, it should be said, were no longer in the deplorable condition of decay in which Sir Thomas Phillips and Dr. Lewis

Edwards found them in 1849. The general educational awakening had had the result of directing popular attention to the maladministration and incompetence under which they had languished. By the year 1880—as the Report of the Departmental Committee shows—the Government of the great majority of them had been thoroughly reformed and regulated by schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts, and most of the schools were pronounced to be in a fairly efficient condition. The Report states that 'the whole number of boys attending the endowed grammar-schools of Wales and Monmouthshire at the date of the inquiry was 1,540, of whom probably 1,200 may be set down as natives of the country.' The schools are reported as having accommodation for 2,846 scholars. How far the grammar-schools, alike in their accessibility to the general body of the Welsh people and in their accommodation, fell short of providing for the educational needs of the country is proved by the fact that, on the lowest estimate formed by the Departmental Committee, 'accommodation should be provided for 15,700 boys.'* Several Welsh educationalists had, long before the Departmental Inquiry, been impressed with the defective provision for secondary education in the Principality, and with the unsuitability, in many ways, of the grammar-schools as higher schools of the type chiefly required. Many letters and pamphlets were written, and speeches delivered from time to time upon the gaps and the 'missing links'† in the Welsh educational

* Report, p. xvi.

† 'The Missing Link' was the actual title of a pamphlet written in 1876 by the late Bishop Lloyd, then headmaster of the Friars School, Bangor. Another pamphlet, which attracted much atten-

system. Some appeared to think that what was required was the establishment of higher elementary schools and a system of scholarships connecting these with the grammar-schools; others maintained that neither higher elementary schools nor the grammar-schools could ever supply the real needs of the people, and that a new type of secondary, or intermediate, school was urgently wanted.

One notable attempt to forge the missing link deserves to be recorded here, were it only because of Sir Hugh Owen's share in it. On October 18, 1879, a meeting of school-teachers and others interested in public elementary education was held at Rhianva, on the Menai Straits, the residence of Captain (now Sir Edmund) Verney, R.N., to consider a proposal to be submitted by Mr. Hugh Owen for 'connecting elementary schools with higher-grade schools by means of scholarships.' Mr. Owen's address at this meeting was afterwards published with a supplement containing an elaborate scheme for forming a Scholarship Association for North Wales. 'What seems now to be wanting,' Mr. Owen declares in his opening statement, 'is the means of bridging over the chasm that separates the elementary school from the higher-grade school, and in some instances of preparing them to compete for the prizes offered in colleges and universities.' For the means of doing this Mr. Hugh Owen looked, partly, to 'subscriptions from the children themselves,' and partly

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tion at the time, was entitled 'The Educational Wants of Wales,' by Mr. (now Sir) T. Marchant Williams—a pamphlet which contained, among other things, a vigorous criticism of some of Bishop Lloyd's proposals.

—as he had done in all his previous enterprises—to the voluntary support of the people. 'It accords,' he says, 'with the habits of the Welsh people to depend, in great measure, upon themselves to secure the advantages which they feel the need of. They do not, as a rule, look to others to do for them what they can do for themselves. I cherish much confidence that this source is one that may safely be relied on.' The result of his appeal was the formation of the North Wales Scholarship Association, to which, up to the time of its dissolution in 1889, over £3,000 was contributed from voluntary sources, thus affording, on a modest scale, another instance of Welsh popular zeal and liberality in an educational cause.

The increasing demand for higher-grade schools, together with the urgent need of securing a Treasury grant in aid of the University College at Aberystwyth, led at last to a discussion in Parliament on the educational situation in Wales. On July 1, 1879, Mr. Hussey Vivian moved in the House of Commons 'that, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to consider the best means of assisting any local effort which may be made for supplying the deficiency of Higher Education in Wales.' From the terms of the resolution it will be seen that emphasis is placed upon 'local effort,' and the debate afforded the Welsh Members the best opportunity they had hitherto had of bearing detailed and telling testimony to the character of the local efforts which had been made in the Principality. Mr. Hussey Vivian's speech, in introducing his resolution, was a most able and exhaustive survey of the whole question. Referring more particularly to the

funds raised in support of the University College of Wales, Mr. Vivian said:

'Upwards of £50,000 has been voluntarily contributed for the purposes of this College. That contribution by a poor country in so short a time shows how deeply the Welsh people feel the want of higher education amongst them. . . . The total number of contributors is 100,072. Now, if that does not show the general feeling of the Welsh people for the establishment of an institution to afford them high education, I do not know what can. It is known no doubt to honorary members that there is an old institution which has come down among the Welsh people from prehistoric times called the Eisteddfod. Eisteddfodau are held yearly in Wales, and they attract large numbers of the Welsh; the surplus funds of these Eisteddfodau have been devoted largely to the maintenance of this College—considerable sums having been granted from them for the maintenance of the College. The Mold Eisteddfod in 1873 granted £250; that at Bangor in 1874, £10; that at Pwllheli in 1875, £41; that at Carnarvon in 1877, £600; and that at Birkenhead in 1878, £100. I will adduce another instance of the interest of the Welsh people in their University College. In the quarry district of Festiniog a scholarship of £20 a year has been provided by the working people; in the quarry district of Llanberis two scholarships of £25 a year have been subscribed for. The North Wales Commercial Travellers have given one of £20 a year, and the South Wales Commercial Travellers also one of £20 a year. That shows the deep interest which is felt by the inhabitants in this their new University College.'

The motion was seconded by Mr. (now Sir) John Puleston, and supported by Mr. Hanbury Tracy,

Lord Emlyn, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. B. T. Williams, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Morgan Lloyd, and Dr. Lyon Playfair. It was opposed, on behalf of the Government, by Lord George Hamilton and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Stafford Northcote). Lord Emlyn (now Earl Cawdor), who was one of the members of the Departmental Committee appointed in the following year, made from the Government benches a spirited plea for State assistance for Wales on the grounds of nationality.

'Does anyone,' he asked, 'seriously maintain that the position of Wales is the same as that of an English county? Its language alone is a fact which places it on an entirely different footing, and gives it a nationality which no county of England can boast of. . . . Wales is as much a distinct country from England as Scotland or Ireland; as such we claim that the same arguments that hold good in obtaining for Ireland and Scotland a yearly grant from the State hold good in the case of Wales.'

Lord George Hamilton could see no difference between the case of Wales and that of England, and 'it had never been our policy to give such assistance for the promotion of secondary or University education in England.' Replying to this line of argument, Mr. Osborne Morgan urged, once again, that what the people of Wales had done for higher education entitled them to separate consideration and assistance.

'There were no people in the whole of the United Kingdom, not even in Scotland, who were so deeply sensible of the value of higher education as the people of Wales. What could show their sense of the value of University education more than the history of this Uni-

versity College in Wales? It was established in 1872, and since that it had been supported, literally, by the pence of the poor—by sixpences and pence subscribed at the chapel doors in Wales, by scholarships founded by quarrymen out of the money earned by the sweat of their brow. He thought the people of Wales were entitled to some recognition from the State for what they had done in this matter.

'It might be very well for the noble lord to talk about what had been done in Lancashire, and the establishment of a University there; but what comparison was there between the Lancashire cotton lords and the poor colliers and quarrymen of Wales? When the Wigan colliers were found clubbing together their weekly wages to found an exhibition for Owens College, then, and not till then, would he admit that there was any analogy between the two cases.'

Dr. Lyon Playfair closed the debate by declaring that he 'knew of no instance where such poor people as those of Wales, where quarrymen and colliers had subscribed for scholarships to send their sons to the Universities. Certainly they had no instance of the kind in Scotland. So remarkable a thing had been done in this case that he thought it ought to command the very serious attention of the Government.' Mr. Hussey Vivian's motion was negatived, in a small House, by 105 votes to 54.

The debate, however, had served its purpose. It had drawn the attention of Parliament and of English public men more effectually than anything had yet done to the educational needs of Wales. With the return of Mr. Gladstone to power in 1880, the opportunity of the Welsh educational leaders came. Lord Aberdare addressed a letter to the Prime Minister

asking the Government to appoint a committee to inquire into the condition of higher education in Wales, and shortly afterwards Mr. Gladstone definitely promised in the House of Commons to comply with this request. On August 25, Lord Spencer, as Lord President of the Council, addressed an official letter to Lord Aberdare announcing the appointment of a Departmental Committee of Inquiry 'into the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales,' to consist of Lord Aberdare (Chairman), Viscount Emlyn, M.P., Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Professor John Rhys, Mr. (now Sir) Lewis Morris, and the Rev. Prebendary Robinson (of the Charity Commission). Mr. W. T. Warry, one of the superior officers of the Charity Commission, was appointed Secretary to the Committee.

The Committee held its first meeting for the hearing of evidence on October 8, 1880, and its last on February 10, 1881. Eight of the Committee's sittings were held in London, and evidence was also taken at fourteen different centres in the Principality. The Report, together with the minutes of evidence, was published on August 18, 1881.

The Report of 1881 may be called, without exaggeration, the educational charter of modern Wales. To that document Wales owes both its admirably organized system of intermediate schools and its University. It scarcely belongs to us here to give even a brief summary of the Departmental Committee's recommendations in the matter of intermediate education. The value of the Report in this respect is best illustrated by a glance at its actual results in the Principality. We cannot do

better than quote the testimony, on this head, of one who, as secretary to the Charity Commission, had exceptional opportunities of observing the way in which the people of Wales seized and acted upon the Committee's recommendations. Speaking at Keighley, in Yorkshire, in January, 1898, Mr. D. R. Fearon reviewed the work done for intermediate education in Wales in the following words:

'The Departmental Committee made its report in 1881. We are familiar in England with that kind of enthusiasm for a cause which exhausts itself in the process of preliminary examination. It not unfrequently happens that the desire for a measure of legislation is sufficiently strong to induce a Government to direct an inquiry by means of a Royal Commission or otherwise, and then evaporates. But this was not the way in which the Welsh people dealt with the report of Lord Aberdare's Committee. They quickly and unanimously resolved what they wanted, and they soon translated their resolutions into energetic and unceasing action. Throughout the years 1886-1888 they repeatedly, persistently, and unanimously, by deputations, by their representatives in Parliament, and by private attempts at legislation, pressed the question on the attention alike of Liberal and Conservative Governments, until, in the summer of 1889, they obtained the Welsh Intermediate Education Act. By an early date in 1890 an Education Committee had been duly formed in every county and county borough to which the Act applied, and before the close of the year these Committees began to make to the Charity Commissioners their statutory proposals for schemes, the county of Carnarvon leading the way. And in an incredibly short period of time the county school system was completely established and in

active operation throughout Wales and Monmouthshire. In May, 1896, the scheme for the Central Welsh Board, which brings and keeps together the whole system, received the approval of the Crown.'

The parts of the Departmental Committee's Report which concern us here are those dealing with 'Higher Education' and 'The Question of a Degree-conferring University in Wales.' Under the first head, the Committee begin by expressing themselves favourable to the establishment in Wales of provincial colleges such as had recently been founded in some of the larger towns of England. Until, however, adequate provision could be made for intermediate education, 'the success of the higher institutions could only be partial, and we are therefore of opinion,' the Committee declare, 'that it would at present, to say the least, be premature to provide for the establishment of any considerable number of provincial colleges.'

'On this ground we recommend,' the Report continues, 'that for the present only one college in addition to that already existing should be provided. It would, we believe, be almost unanimously agreed that such new college should be placed in Glamorganshire, though there might be some difference of opinion as to the rival claims of Cardiff and Swansea to be regarded as the most suitable site.

'Cardiff, and the places within reach of it, supply, within a given area, the larger population, while Swansea and its neighbourhood are the seats of more varied industries.

'The Glamorganshire college may be expected for some time, at all events, to meet the requirements of South

Wales, and the college at Aberystwyth, whether retained on its present site or removed to Carnarvon or Bangor, must be accepted as the college for North Wales.

'We recommend that, towards the maintenance of the colleges, recourse shall be had to a parliamentary grant. In no other way, indeed, so far as we can see, will it be possible to maintain them.'

'So far as we can estimate, a yearly grant of £4,000 to each college would, with receipts from students' fees, amply suffice for the payment of the professorial staff, and generally for the efficient maintenance of the institution. And this, therefore, is the sum which we think might properly be allowed to each college.

'In recommending that to this extent, at least, higher education in Wales shall be assisted out of the public funds, we are able to appeal to what has been done in this way on behalf of Scotland and Ireland.'

'The constitution of the governing bodies, by whom the colleges are to be managed, must also be a matter of careful consideration.

'The general views and sentiments of Wales must, of course, be duly represented, but at the same time it is important that there should be on the managing board persons with special qualifications for dealing with the subject of advanced education, and if the colleges are maintained out of public funds, there should be added a certain number of persons nominated by the Crown acting possibly through the medium of the Committee of Council.

'We would urge that the colleges should be altogether unsectarian, and should not undertake to provide any kind of theological instruction. The principal should, in every case, be a layman.

'We think that the advantages of the teaching staff should, as far as possible, be thrown open to girls or young

women requiring a higher education than can be given to them in schools.

'We contemplate the admission of students at a much earlier age than is now the practice at the English universities. We are persuaded that, if a college in Wales is to succeed, it must provide a course which in ordinary cases shall not last beyond the twentieth year, or earlier, so as to take in the large class of persons who, after leaving the second-grade schools, may be able to devote to the higher education the not-over-long interval which may elapse before they enter into active business life.'

The Report then proceeds to deal with the question of a degree-giving University, and, after a brief review of the arguments for and against, the opinion is expressed that 'the existence of a Welsh University would almost certainly exercise a beneficial influence on higher education in Wales.'

'It would bring such education more closely home to the daily life and thoughts of the people. It would gratify the national sentiment and furnish new motives for the pursuit of learning. It might, under favourable circumstances, tend to develop new forms of culture in affinity with some of the distinctive characteristics of the Welsh people. A lesser luminary in close proximity will shed more light than a far greater orb shining from a distant sphere, and so a Welsh University crowning the educational edifice might help to diffuse the light of knowledge more generally through the Principality than has been or can be done by Oxford or Cambridge with all their prestige.'

After referring to the fact that there already existed in Wales 'not indeed a University in the true meaning

of the term, but an Institution with the power of conferring degrees'—viz., St. David's College, Lampeter—the Committee recommended the withdrawal of the St. David's College charter, and the substitution for it of a new charter 'whereby the power of conferring degrees should be given to a syndicate or board, consisting of representatives in equal numbers of the governing bodies of St. David's College, the University College at Aberystwyth, and any other college, being a place of advanced secular instruction, which may be affiliated for the purpose.'

'It will, however, be deserving of consideration,' they add, 'before the issue of the enlarged charter, how far and under what conditions facilities for availing themselves of this opportunity of obtaining degrees should be extended to students of those theological colleges where, in addition to the study of theology, instruction in the higher secular subjects is systematically given, and also how far these benefits may be made accessible to female students for whom in the present state of female education in Wales no college has been specially provided.'

The recommendations of the Departmental Committee as to the provision for higher education were carried out with even more promptitude than their suggested scheme of intermediate education, and on a much larger scale than probably any member of the Committee had anticipated. In 1882 the University College of Wales received, for the first time, a Treasury grant of £4,000, the full amount suggested by the Committee. In October, 1883, the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire was opened at Cardiff, and endowed with an annual Parliamentary

grant of £4,000. In October, 1884, the University College of North Wales was opened at Bangor.

Educational zeal and local feeling had thus altogether outrun the Departmental Committee's recommendations. The establishment of three University Colleges was, indeed, viewed with grave apprehension by many, doubts being freely expressed whether the Principality could ever supply a sufficient number of students to justify the existence of three institutions of so ambitious a type. Some ill-feeling was also aroused by the refusal of North Wales to accept the Aberystwyth College as its own, and by the transference from that College in 1884 of its newly-acquired grant of £4,000 to the new College at Bangor. The Government endeavoured to pacify the friends of Aberystwyth by voting to the College a separate grant of £2,500 for the year 1884, but this only led to a loud popular outcry for equality of treatment for all three Colleges, and in the following year the Government was forced to raise the grant to £4,000. From this time forward the three Colleges worked together in friendly rivalry, and before the close of the year 1888 they had begun to combine in a movement for securing a charter to unite them in a common University. Within ten years of the establishment of the youngest of the Colleges the University of Wales had been duly constituted and had entered upon its academic career.

Three months after the publication of the Departmental Committee's Report the news came of the death, at Mentone, of Sir Hugh Owen. His work had been done, and the Report of 1881 was its crown. For that document had, in effect, but given official sanction and

recommendation to the educational schemes and ideals for which he had so long and so manfully striven. So conscious, indeed, of this were some members of the Departmental Committee that they had designed to ask Mr. Gladstone to signalize the publication of the Report by conferring upon Hugh Owen the honour of knighthood. As it happened, Mr. Gladstone himself anticipated their intentions, and in July, 1881, conveyed to Mr. Owen the offer of the title—'a distinction,' Mr. Gladstone wrote, 'which you have well merited by your services to the cause of education in Wales.' Never was a dignity better bestowed or more honourably won. No Welshman of his time served his country more unselfishly or with more beneficent and far-reaching results. 'It will be long,' wrote Sir Lewis Morris, shortly after his death, 'before Wales finds another son so devoted to her interests, so free from the weaknesses of the national character, so strong and so unswerving in his persistence in whatever course he was convinced he was right, so tolerant and yet so sure, so gentle and yet so determined, a man in whom great business shrewdness and sagacity were combined with the simplicity of the saint.' The University College at Aberystwyth has often been pointed to as his chief monument. He has a greater; for to our vision to-day he lies 'sepulchre'd in such pomp,' that the entire fabric of popular education in Wales seems to enshrine his grave and to blazon his ideals and his deeds.

CHAPTER VII

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES

The University College of Wales was formally opened at Aberystwyth on October 15, 1872. The story of the acquisition of the building, and of the financial difficulties of the College during the early stages of its career, has already been told. It now remains to give a brief survey of the inner history of the College from its foundation to the present time.

Having determined, at whatever cost and risk to themselves, to open the College for students before the close of 1872, the College Committee early in that year took steps to appoint a principal. On June 11 they unanimously resolved to offer the post to the Rev. Thomas Charles Edwards, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, the eldest son of Dr. Lewis Edwards, whose writings on educational questions are quoted in a previous chapter, and a great grandson of the Thomas Charles whose noble work in connection with the Sunday-schools has been instanced as one of the 'contributory forces' of the Welsh University movement. On July 10 Mr. Edwards announced his acceptance of the Committee's invitation. At the close of

the opening ceremonies in October, the new Principal, in a brief speech, gave some indication of the spirit in which he had accepted the appointment:

'Ever since I can remember anything,' he said, 'I remember that the most ardent desire of my boyish days was to serve Wales. I was ambitious enough to hope that I might obtain a niche amongst those who lived in former days, and who live in our own time, who have served, not a party, but a whole nation. And when I was asked to preside over this College, I began to think, "Surely this is my boyish dream beginning to come true!" For that reason I determined to throw myself heart and soul into the movement, and to devote the best energies of my life to the great work of bringing up young men in this place. I am proud to know that I come of a very good stock. I am not only proud of being a Welshman, but I am proud of being a descendant of Charles of Bala; and I may be pardoned, too, for mentioning the name of my own father. My greatest ambition, my highest aspirations, will be more than satisfied if I can, even at a distance, follow in the footsteps of the distinguished men who have been before me, and whom I see around me from day to day.'

Principal Edwards found himself, on the opening day, at the head of a modest staff of three professors. He himself had elected to become professor of Greek, Logic, and Moral Philosophy. The Rev. J. Hoskyns-Abrahall was professor of Latin, Comparative Philology, and Ancient and Modern History; the Rev. H. N. Grimley, professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry; Mr. George Thibaut, professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages. The post of registrar

From a photograph by] [*James T. Ede, Aberystwyth*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ABERYSTWYTH

and librarian was filled by Mr. E. P. Jones, a graduate of Glasgow. It will be seen that the professors were determined not to let their numerical weakness deter them from covering wide provinces of knowledge, and it may be doubted whether any other College in these islands ever opened its doors with a staff so adventurous for its size. It was, however, found possible even during the critical years of the Sustentation Fund to make several additions to the teaching staff. Some of these proved permanent, while others, from lack either of funds or of students, had, for a time, to be discontinued. Of five new chairs founded within five years of the opening of the College two had, by 1880, ceased to exist. They were the chairs of Music and of Agriculture, which were held respectively by the late Dr. Joseph Parry and the late Mr. Henry Tanner. Another chair—that of Welsh—although precariously supported for some years, was more fortunate, for the subject never altogether disappeared from the College curriculum. During this early period the chair of Welsh was held by the late Canon Silvan Evans, a scholar whose services to Welsh literature and lexicography the University of Wales recognised several years later by adding his name to her jealously guarded roll of honorary graduates. It is interesting to note that of the professors appointed before the Departmental Inquiry three still remain at their posts. In 1873 Mr. J. Mortimer Angus, now the *doyen* of Welsh College professors, succeeded Mr. Hoskyns-Abrahall in the chair of Latin and Comparative Philology. In 1874, upon the resignation of Mr. Thibaut, Dr. H. Ethé was appointed professor of Hebrew and Modern

Languages. In 1879 Mr. R. W. Genese became professor of Mathematics in succession to Mr. Grimley.

The College opened with 26 students, but before the close of the first session the numbers had increased to 62. At the time of the Inquiry of 1880 the number of students was 57. The Departmental Committee make it quite clear in their Report that the progress of the College during the eight years of its existence had disappointed them. They point out that the entire number of students who had passed through the College since its foundation was only 313, and that the highest number in attendance at one time was 93. The College

'has failed,' the Report continues, 'to attract students in sufficient numbers to entitle it to be regarded as a successful institution. From North Wales it has drawn very few pupils; fewer still have come to it from the populous county of Glamorgan, with its varied industries. . . . At present the University College is maintained at a cost to its supporters of at least £2,500, and increasing difficulty is felt in obtaining the necessary subscriptions; and it was stated that without Government assistance the institution must collapse.'

The reasons for what the Committee term the 'comparative failure' of the College were canvassed and debated with some acrimony both during and after the Inquiry. In 1885, however—from the moment the College was finally assured of an annual Parliamentary grant of £4,000—the tide began to turn, and for twenty years the career of the College has been one of unbroken and ever-increasing success. It is significant that

this turn of the tide in the fortunes of Aberystwyth synchronized with the establishment in North Wales and in 'the populous county of Glamorgan' of two rival institutions.* No more striking instance than the simultaneous and speedy success of the three Welsh Colleges could well be afforded of the apparently paradoxical principle that, in education, 'the supply creates the demand.'

The foundation of the other two Colleges caused, for a time, a good deal of anxiety to the friends of Aberystwyth. It was feared that the Government, acting strictly on the recommendation of the Departmental Committee, would refuse to vote an annual Treasury grant to a third Welsh College. The Aberystwyth grant had, as we have seen, been transferred to Bangor, and, as a temporary compromise, the College in Mid-Wales was voted a grant of £2,500 for five years, on the condition that the friends of the College raised an annual sum of £1,000 to meet it. This proposal was made in April, 1884. In the following year there was a change of Government, and, as the result both of popular and of Parliamentary pressure, Mr. Edward Stanhope, who had succeeded Mr. Mundella as Vice-President of the Council, announced in the House of Commons on August 22,

'that Her Majesty's Government had, after careful consideration, come to the conclusion that Aberystwyth might reasonably claim to be treated in the same manner as

* As illustrating the growth of the College since 1885 it may be said that the number of students at Aberystwyth in October, 1904, was 467.

Cardiff and Bangor, and that the grant to Aberystwyth ought to be raised to the same amount as that now given in these two cases—namely, £4,000 a year.'

While these negotiations for an adequate Treasury grant were proceeding, the College was overtaken by a calamity which at the time seemed to threaten it with extinction far more effectually than the partial withdrawal of its endowments. On the night of July 9, 1885, a fire broke out which destroyed the greater part of the College buildings. By dint of heroic efforts on the part of the people of Aberystwyth most of the valuable objects housed in the College Museum and the entire contents of the Library were saved from the holocaust. Three men lost their lives in this gallant work of rescue. It was fortunate that the disaster occurred in the long vacation, as it gave the College authorities some time to consider the serious plight in which they thus suddenly found themselves. They rose to the occasion with an energy and a resolution unsurpassed at any previous stage in the chequered history of the College. The October term began on the appointed day, and the work of the College proceeded without any break or arrest. Temporary accommodation was found in the Queen's Hotel—a large building which the College Council had promptly rented. So far from injuriously affecting the prospects of the College, the fire at once rallied its supporters round it in greater force and with a more passionate loyalty than ever. The new session opened with 132 students, being an increase of 27 on the numbers for the previous session. Inspired alike by the influx of new students and by their success with the Treasury, the College authorities made a confident

appeal for help to the Welsh people, declaring that 'it would be a national disgrace if the comparatively small sum' required for the restoration of the College buildings was not speedily subscribed.

The damage caused by the fire was so serious that the College Council had at first some doubts whether the work of restoring the original fabric was worth attempting. Many zealous friends of the College advocated its removal to a new building on a more commodious site. The old building was bounded by the sea on one side and by a public road on the other, and it was pointed out that there was little, if any, room for expansion should the College make the erstwhile hotel its permanent home. The Council, however, ultimately decided to remain on the sea-front, and Mr. J. P. Seddon, the architect who had designed the original building, was instructed to prepare plans for its restoration. The work was commenced forthwith, and in the spring of 1888 the science departments entered into possession of their new lecture-rooms and laboratories. In September of the same year the new arts lecture-rooms were ready for occupation. Before the fire a considerable number of students, under the charge of a Dean and some of the professors, had occupied rooms in the College buildings. It was decided not to provide any residential accommodation in the restored fabric, but to utilize all the available space for offices, library, class-rooms, and laboratories.

The year of the College's 'baptism of fire' was marked by important changes in its constitution and government. In 1874 the College Committee submitted to a meeting of the subscribers a draft 'Deed

of Declaration of Trust of the Hereditaments and Premises to be used for the purposes of the University College of Wales,' and a form of constitution for the College. A provisional Court of Governors was then appointed, as well as a number of Trustees of the College property. At a general meeting of subscribers, held on January 20, 1875, the provisionally elected Governors, together with others appointed under various clauses of the new constitution, were formally constituted into a permanent Court. The Court elected Lord Aberdare as its first president, and Mr. David Davies, M.P., was appointed treasurer. The president and the treasurer, together with sixteen elected governors, were constituted a Council, to which the executive government of the College was entrusted. This constitution remained in force until the acquisition of the Treasury grant of 1885. In that year the membership of the Court was considerably enlarged. It was not, however, until four years later that the revised constitution received the official sanction of the Privy Council. In September, 1889, the Aberystwyth College was granted the privilege, already accorded to the two other Colleges, of incorporation by Royal Charter.

In 1891 Principal Edwards resigned the headship of the College. His retirement was due partly to considerations of health, and partly to a desire to succeed his father in the principalship of the reconstituted Theological College at Bala. The enormous difficulties with which he had had to contend during the years of the College's struggling infancy had gradually told upon the Principal's strength. His work had not been con-

fined to teaching and administration. The twenty years of his principalship had been one crowded period of public engagements in every part of Wales. Throughout these years he was one of the foremost pulpit orators of the day, and the calls upon his services as a preacher were incessant. He had also in season and out of season to press the claims of the College upon the pecuniary support of the public. At no time was the strain of this missionary work more heavily felt by him than during the three or four years after the fire. By 1891 he had, largely by his own exertions, raised the funds necessary to assure the success of the scheme for restoring the buildings; and he saw the College in that year, in respect both of the number of its students and of the volume and the intensity of the public support which it commanded, safely arrived at a height of prosperity such as its best friends had never dreamt of five years before. He had, therefore, good reason for believing that the time had come when he could honourably, and without fear for the future of the institution, relinquish his heavy responsibilities. His resignation was accepted by the Council with the keenest regret, and with every mark of their appreciation of the immense services which he had rendered to the College. If it is no exaggeration to say that without Sir Hugh Owen the University College of Wales would never have been established, it is certainly less to say that it would never have reached its twentieth birthday but for Thomas Charles Edwards. It was his magnetic personality and his eloquent advocacy that, more than anything else, brought the College triumphantly through its trials. The University of Wales

marked its sense at once of the magnitude of his work for Welsh education and of his distinction as a theological scholar by making him, shortly before his death, its first and, so far, only honorary Doctor of Divinity.

The College Council had no easy task in finding a successor to a man in whom popular gifts and academic distinction were combined in so eminent a degree as in Dr. Edwards. Their choice ultimately fell upon an old student of the College, Mr. Thomas Francis Roberts, M.A., who then occupied the chair of Greek at the sister College at Cardiff. In his Report for 1882-1883 Principal Edwards referred to the 'good fortune' of the Aberystwyth College 'in having one of its former students appointed professor at the new College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.'

'Though younger than many of his fellow-students,' the Report continued, 'Mr. T. F. Roberts took a leading position among them, not only in the professors' classes, but also in the various College clubs and societies. To him and a few others of his contemporaries the College owes the conception and the successful starting of the College magazine; while he on his part owes to our Debating Society and the magazine much of that facility for cultured expression for which he is now distinguished.'

Mr. Roberts had passed from the elementary school at Aberdovey in Merionethshire to a local private academy at Towyn, whence he gained a scholarship at the University College of Wales. From Aberystwyth he proceeded to Oxford as a scholar of St. John's College and, graduating in the First Class in Literæ Humaniores, was appointed in 1883 the first professor of Greek at

University College, Cardiff. The new Principal received a warm welcome on his return to his old College, and under his principalship the institution has not only continued to prosper and to grow in academic stature, but has more than maintained the hold upon the interest and the affections of the Welsh people which its early struggles and the personal influence of its first Principal had won for it.

The new Principal had not been long in office before the Council decided to reorganize the internal administration of the College. The offices of the College had from its foundation been located in London, and even the meetings of the Council and its committees were usually held in the Metropolis. This apparently anomalous arrangement was due, in the first instance, to the peculiar relation in which Sir Hugh Owen stood to the College during its early years. Sir Hugh Owen, when he retired from the Poor Law Board to become honorary secretary to the College, continued to reside in London, and it was primarily to suit his convenience that the original offices were placed there. It so happened, also, that two of his successors in the honorary secretaryship, Mr. (now Sir) Lewis Morris and the late Mr. Morgan Lloyd, were London residents. Thus, until it was found practicable to appoint a paid secretary to the College, it was inevitable that the offices should remain in London. But with the rapid growth of the College, and after the changes made in its constitution in 1885, the concentration of the administrative machinery at Aberystwyth became more and more imperative. Even before the resignation of Principal Edwards the Council had come to the decision

of removing the offices to Aberystwyth, and in the spring of 1892 the administrative department found for the first time a home within the College walls. It was placed in charge of a new officer, who combined the duties of secretary and registrar. The Rev. T. Mortimer Green, its present occupant, was, out of a large number of applicants, appointed to this post.

The transfer of the administrative department to Aberystwyth was made none too soon, for new developments were taking place in the College on a scale to tax the utmost energies of its executive officers. The chief of these was the great increase in the number of women students, with its attendant problems of accommodation and discipline. For a brief period during the early days of the College a few women students had attended the classes of the professor of Music, but it was not until the session of 1884-1885 that women were admitted to the ordinary College courses in arts and science. At first the women students were allowed the option of residing in registered lodging-houses in the town, or in a house which the Council had taken over as a temporary hall of residence. This state of things prevailed for three years, when for disciplinary reasons the Council decided to make residence in a hall, or hostel, compulsory for all women students not living with their parents or guardians. They also resolved to appoint a lady principal, who was to have charge of the women's hostel and to exercise supervision over the women students generally. Miss E. A. Carpenter, the present head of the women students' hall of residence, was elected to this post. The condition of compulsory residence at the hostel gave a temporary check to the

increase in the number of women students. The numbers fell from 28 at the beginning of the session 1886-1887 to 13 at the beginning of the following session. In 1888-1889, however, the numbers went up to 40, and have continued steadily to increase until at the present moment over 200 students are in residence at the Alexandra Hall. The hall, as its name indicates, was opened by her Majesty the Queen, then Princess of Wales, on June 26, 1896—the date of the installation of her Royal husband as first Chancellor of the University of Wales. The building, situated at the north end of the Marine Parade, and facing the sea, was constructed at a cost of over £30,000, from designs by Mr. C. J. Ferguson. The major part of the cost of the site was borne by the Corporation of Aberystwyth.

Another new development, which dates practically from the appointment of Principal Roberts and the removal of the offices to Aberystwyth, was the establishment of a department of Agriculture. The College, as we have seen, for a time possessed a professor of Agriculture even before 1880. For three years from May, 1877, the late Professor Henry Tanner occupied the chair of Agriculture, but the demand for instruction in the principles and practice of scientific farming was so small as to make it impossible for the Council to retain Mr. Tanner's services permanently. In 1891, however, stimulated largely by the success of the University College of North Wales in organizing popular courses of instruction in Agriculture, the College authorities decided to revive their defunct agricultural department. A lecturer in Agriculture was appointed,

and steps were taken to enlist the co-operation of such of the County Councils as were within the College's constituency or 'sphere of influence.' The County Councils assist the College both by providing scholarships and exhibitions to enable agricultural students to attend in-College courses at Aberystwyth, and by voting subsidies in aid of extension lectures and of field and other experiments. Two notable features of the 'extension' work have been the establishment of travelling dairy schools and the provision at various centres of systematic instruction in horticulture. The College also possesses a garden and an orchard of its own, and is at the present moment, in conjunction with the County Councils, renting a farm for experimental and teaching purposes. In addition to the County Council grants the Agricultural Department receives an annual subsidy of £800 from the Board of Agriculture.

The next new departure in point of time was the establishment of a day-training department. In 1892 application was made to the Education Department for permission to receive and train sixty Queen's Scholars on the conditions already sanctioned in the case of some of the English provincial colleges. The request was granted, and a lecturer in Education and master of method was appointed. Permission was given two years later to increase the number of the students in training to 120, and the staff was reinforced by the appointment of a mistress and of an assistant-master of method. The College has been fortunate from the start in the quality of the students who have been attracted to its Day-Training Department, and has for some years past been able to restrict

admission to the department to students who have passed either the University matriculation examination or some equivalent test recognised by the University. The success of this department is sufficiently attested by the large number of normal students who have graduated in the University, and many of whom already fill positions of responsibility in the educational world. The school practice required by the Board of Education is, in the case of second and third year students, carried on for a short period every year in the primary schools of Swansea. Besides providing training for primary teachers, the College offers in its Secondary Training Department instruction in the theory and practice of teaching to graduates who propose to become teachers in the secondary, or intermediate, schools.

Within recent years two other new departments have been organized—viz., those of Music and of Law. The lectureship in Music, like that in Agriculture, represents a return to the early traditions of the College. When the late Dr. Joseph Parry held the chair of Music in the seventies, as many as twenty-six students out of eighty-six were at one time students in 'the school of Music.' Most, if not all, of these students, however, did not follow the ordinary College classes in other subjects, and it was largely due to the disturbance of the primary functions of the College caused by this disproportionate attention to music that the department was at the close of the session of 1878-1879 discontinued. It was revived soon after the University of Wales was empowered by its charter to establish a faculty of Music and to give degrees in the subject.

Under the new conditions instruction in music is given, to University students at least, in strict compliance with the requirements of the University as to preliminary and coincident studies.

The school of Law was established in 1901 by means of a temporary sustentation fund. The movement was inaugurated at a meeting held early in that year in London under the presidency of Lord Justice Vaughan Williams. The response to the appeal for funds was generous enough to enable the Council to found two chairs, one of Comparative and Constitutional Law and the other of English Law. The school was formally opened in October, 1901, by Lord Justice Williams.

Simultaneously with these developments in the academic work of the College important alterations and extensions of the College buildings have been carried out. The first of these was the completion and the furnishing of the Library at the north end of the College. The handsome furniture and fittings of the Library were provided by the Welshmen of America. In the spring of 1890 Principal Edwards, continuing his campaign for funds for the restoration of the College buildings after the fire, visited the United States and Canada, and secured by his public appeals a sum of £1,200, which it was decided to devote exclusively to the furnishing of the Library. The American Welshmen's generosity is commemorated on a bronze tablet in the Library bearing the inscription:

'Dodrefnwyd y Llyfrgell hon gan Gymry cenedl-garol yn yr Unol Daleithau ac yn Canada, 1890. Cas gwr na charo y wlad a'i macco.'

The restored Library was opened by Mr. A. H. D. Acland, Vice-President of the Council, in November, 1892.

The steady increase in the number of students from 1893 onwards obliged the Council, not only to make several alterations in the main College buildings, but to erect on the south side a block, which forms the largest addition yet made to the original pile of which the hotel of 1867 was the nucleus. This new building provides accommodation for the administrative and Agricultural departments, together with lecture-rooms and laboratories for the departments of Botany and Zoology. To enable them to carry out these extensions, the Council appealed for assistance to the Chancellor of the Exchequer (the late Sir William Harcourt), who promised them a building grant of £10,000 on condition that the College raised a sum of £5,000 to meet it. Within a few months this condition was fulfilled, and the new buildings were formally opened by Sir William Harcourt in 1898. Thus was the building on the original site completed at a cost to the College (including the £10,000 paid for the hotel) of £58,868. It is calculated, however, that for this outlay the College has secured a building which, with its fittings, could not now be erected for a sum of less than £100,000.

But the completion of the main building by the seaside has not arrested the process of extension. In 1902, pressed by the continued increase in the number of students, the Council had to rent a large hall as a temporary 'overflow' chemical laboratory. The need of providing ampler accommodation for the scientific

departments generally had become so urgent that, but for the timely generosity of a family interested in the College from its foundation, the Council would have been forced to make another appeal to the country and to the Government. The required assistance came from the representatives of the late Mr. Edward Davies, of Llandinam, who had succeeded his father, Mr. David Davies, M.P., in the treasurership of the College. In order to commemorate the name of Mr. Edward Davies in connection with the College, they offered to the Council the munificent sum of £20,000 for the erection of a building, or buildings, to be called the 'Edward Davies Memorial Laboratories.' The offer was gratefully accepted, and in March, 1904, the Council purchased a commanding site for the new buildings in a part of the town known as the 'Buarth Mawr.'

Young though the University College of Wales is, it already possesses a Museum worthy of much older and more favoured institutions. The collection consists, not only of geological and zoological specimens illustrative of the Principality and of other parts of Wales, but of a large number of curios of great value and interest, and of a small gallery of pictures by several eminent artists. The Museum has been fortunate in its friends, and the entire collection is the result of the gifts of a number of private donors. The names of two donors deserve special mention. The first is that of the late Mr. G. E. Powell, of Nanteos, whose bequest was made in 1882, and was at the time referred to by the Council in the following terms:

'The Council have great pleasure in reporting the munificent bequest of the late Mr. G. E. Powell, of

Nanteos, who during his life was always the generous friend of the College, and contributed largely to its museum. Mr. Powell died at an early age, very shortly after the last general meeting. By his will he bequeathed to the College valuable books to the number of nearly 1,700 volumes in various branches of general literature, pictures of merit to the number of 120, besides gifts of interest and value to the museum, including vases, busts, pottery, china, carvings in ivory, and other art treasures. The value of the whole bequest is estimated at from £2,500 to £3,000.'

The Art collection was materially added to by a later bequest of paintings, made by the late Richard James, sometime Town Clerk of Llanrwst. Among the pictures now in the possession of the College are some by Constable, Turner, D. G. Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Leighton. The Museum, it should be said, is visited during each long vacation by some hundreds of strangers, who take their holiday at Aberystwyth. They are charged sixpence a head for the privilege, and out of the money thus accumulated it is found possible to award in each year a 'Visitors' Scholarship' of the substantial sum of £30.

The University College of Wales, during the thirty-two years of its career, has numbered among its students men and women who occupy a large place in the Welsh life of to-day, and many of whom have already left their mark upon the history of the Principality. It would be invidious to single out from among the living the names of those who have achieved, and are still achieving, distinction in various walks of public life; but no one will quarrel with us for naming one from among the dead whose

fine character and high ideals and whose brief but brilliant public career mark him out as at once a typical son of modern Wales, and an *alumnus* of whom her first University College will long be proud. Thomas Edward Ellis, as he himself was always the first to admit, owed even more to Aberystwyth than to Oxford. It was in the little Welsh 'College by the sea' that he imbibed the patriotic ideas and dreamt the noble dreams of political and educational service which shaped and guided his public life. He was one of a group of Aberystwyth students who have contributed not a little to the educational and social advancement of Wales, and most of whom are happily still in the prime of their life and activity. He himself was cut down in 1899, at the early age of forty, after attaining to a position of influence and of affectionate esteem among his countrymen such as it is given to few men anywhere and at any time to enjoy. At the time of his death he was Warden of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales. No occupant of that office has graced, or can ever grace, it better, for he embodied, as none other of his contemporaries quite did, all the best educational ideals of the 'Young Wales' of his day; and however strong the tide of good fortune may flow for the University in the future, nothing can altogether recapture for it the enthusiasms and the loyalties and the hopes which one associates with the name of 'Tom Ellis' and his comrades. His memory will long remain an inspiration to Aberystwyth students, and it is gratifying to know that already his portrait speaks to them from the College walls.

Of the staff of the College as it existed before 1880, three members, as we have seen,—Professor Angus,

Ethé, and Genese,—are still 'in harness,' and it is difficult to overestimate the services which they have, together, rendered to the institution. It now remains to name a few of the more distinguished occupants of chairs and lectureships who have either died or left the College for other positions. The first professor of English at the College was Mr. W. J. Craig, of Trinity College, Dublin, who is well known for several distinguished contributions to English scholarship. Mr. Craig also taught History and Political Economy. He was followed by Mr. M. W. MacCallum, of Glasgow University, now professor of English Literature in the University of Sydney. Mr. MacCallum's successor was Dr. C. H. Herford, who, after several years' distinguished tenure of the chair, was elected to the professorship of English Literature lately founded in the University of Manchester. The chair of Chemistry was held up to 1879 by Mr. F. W. Rudler, who was for many years Curator and Librarian of the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street. He was succeeded by the late Dr. Humpidge and by Dr. H. Lloyd Snape, the present Director of Education to the Lancashire County Council. The late Dr. Joseph Parry and the late Canon Silvan Evans, formerly professors of Music and of Welsh respectively, have already been mentioned. Of those of the later generation of professors who have left the College, one—Mr. D. E. Jones, sometime professor of Physics, and now one of His Majesty's Inspectors of Secondary Schools—was from 1901 to 1903 Warden of the University Guild of Graduates. Another, Mr. T. H. Middleton, is now professor of Agriculture in the University of Cambridge.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

THE Departmental Committee of 1880 recommended, as we have already seen, that only one college should be established in addition to that existing at Aberystwyth, and that 'such new college should be placed in Glamorganshire.' The Committee, recognising that 'there might be some difference of opinion as to the rival claims of Cardiff and Swansea,' left it to the actual founders of the College to determine its *locale*. The claims of the two towns—for there was no other competitor—were ultimately submitted to arbitration. The selected arbitrators were Lord Carlingford, Lord Bramwell, and Mr. Mundella, the three who were subsequently called upon to perform the still more difficult task of deciding between the claims of the thirteen towns which were anxious to provide a home for the University College of North Wales. The arbitrators' decision was unanimous in favour of Cardiff.

The College was formally opened by its first president, the late Lord Aberdare, on Wednesday, October 24, 1883. The ceremonies of inauguration began with

From a photograph by] [*W. D. Dighton, Cardiff*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CARDIFF

an address by Lord Aberdare at the Cardiff Public Hall in Queen Street. His lordship's speech, consisting mainly of a review of the Welsh University movement and of a statement of the aims and ideals of the founders of the new College, opened with an eloquent passage which recalled the accents of the stirring addresses delivered eleven years previously on the occasion of the opening of the pioneer college at Aberystwyth.

'In such an hour as this,' said Lord Aberdare, 'exultation at the success which has so far attended our efforts to advance the higher education of our countrymen is mingled with gratitude to those wise, far-sighted patriots who gave the first impulse to the movement, who struggled against opposition, ridicule, and the icy indifference by which their unselfish endeavours were for many years frustrated; is chequered with grief for the loss of many of the foremost champions of that holy war; and is tempered with anxiety, unmixed, however, with misgiving for the final issues of an enterprise in the success of which our credit, our honour, our national character, are inextricably engaged.'

In the course of his address Lord Aberdare made a powerful appeal to 'the patriotism and liberality of all who desired to bring the benefits of the College home to the hearts of every portion of every county in South Wales.' There was some need at the time for such an appeal; inasmuch as the subscription list for the foundation of the College was by no means so representative of South Wales as it might have been. At the public luncheon which followed the opening ceremony, Sir Hussey Vivian, the first Treasurer of the College, went so far as to declare that, 'so far as Cardiff

was concerned, it was a liberal subscription list; but so far as the rest of South Wales was concerned, it was not a subscription list at all.' 'I call,' continued Sir Hussey Vivian, taking up the appeal of the President, 'upon the whole of South Wales to come forward and support this College in an adequate manner.' The significance of these words lay in the fact that they came from one who had just been described by Lord Carlingford as the 'most formidable and able champion of Swansea' in the arbitration. Swansea, it should be said, had, on the whole, accepted its defeat with good grace. The principal supporters of the Swansea site, who had promised their subscriptions in the hope that the College would be established in that town, had loyally abided by the arbitrators' decision, and had paid their contributions to the College funds. But South Wales, as a whole, had not contributed towards the foundation and maintenance of the College on anything like the scale of liberality displayed in connection with the similar enterprise in North Wales. The total amount of money raised or promised in support of the College by the opening day was £36,000. Of this sum, £10,000 represented the gift of a site, so that the full amount available from subscriptions for the working expenses of the College was about £26,000.

The staff of the College, on the opening day, consisted of a principal and ten professors and lecturers. The Council were exceptionally fortunate in securing as principal a distinguished Welshman who had already had experience in directing the work of a similar collegiate institution in one of the great popular centres

of England. Mr. John Viriamu Jones, the second son of the well-known Welsh 'poet-preacher,' Thomas Jones, of Swansea, was born at Pentreporth, near Swansea, in 1856. After a brilliant career at University College, London—of which he was elected a Fellow—and at Balliol College, Oxford, he was appointed, in 1881, Principal of Firth College, Sheffield. This post he resigned in 1883, to become the head of the new College at Cardiff.

'I left Sheffield,' Principal Jones said at the luncheon on October 24, 'through no discontent with my position in that town, but because I thought this was the dawning of a remarkable era in the educational and intellectual history of Wales, and that no nobler task could fall to the lot of any Welshman to-day than that of instituting this College wisely, and of attempting to guide it aright in its infancy, so that it may become a great and lasting benefit to the Welsh people.'

Of the original band of ten professors and lecturers, four still remain at Cardiff—Professors Thompson, Parker, and Powel, and M. Paul Barbier. Professor Andrew Seth (Pringle-Pattison), who held the chair of Philosophy, is now professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Mr. Wardale, the first professor of Latin, returned, after a brief tenure of the chair, as tutor to his old college, Clare, Cambridge. The first professor of English, Mr. W. P. Ker, now holds the chair of English Language and Literature in University College, London. The first professor of Greek, Mr. T. F. Roberts, left in 1890 to become the second principal of the University College at Aberystwyth.

The inauguration ceremonies were brought to a close with an address by Principal Viriamu Jones, delivered within the walls of the Infirmary which had been transformed into a temporary home for the College. That address deserves to be remembered for its clear and courageous call to Wales to address herself, resolutely and at once, to the long-delayed task of establishing a national University. Of all the men who were engaged in the administrative and academic work of the three Welsh Colleges Principal Jones was the first to resuscitate the demand, and the foremost in initiating and organizing the movement, for a Welsh University. From the moment when he took up his duties at Cardiff he 'spoke out' on this question, and made it his main object to unite the three Colleges in a federal alliance. Thus, his inaugural address as Principal of Cardiff was, in the main, a plea for the foundation of a University of Wales and an exposition of its functions and its ideals.

'I regard,' he begins, 'this College as an institution one day to be affiliated to the University of Wales—a day, we hope, not far off. We must aim at that; we must be content with nothing less than that. The various Colleges of Wales will be isolated units till the University of Wales exists, not in name, but in fact.' 'Wales,' he continues, 'needs a University; and I now go on to consider what the functions of a University are, what duties it has to perform, and what work it is essential that it should do.'

The sketch which followed was a truly remarkable forecast of the lines upon which the University of Wales came ultimately to be constituted.

During the first session 151 students attended classes

at the College. Of these, however, 49 attended courses in one or two subjects only, and were mostly drawn from Cardiff and its immediate neighbourhood. Of the remaining 102 day students—87 male and 17 female—exactly half came from the county of Glamorgan. At the end of the session of 1903-04 there were 647 students on the rolls. The friends of the College had thus good cause, when celebrating the attainment of its 'majority' in October, 1904, to congratulate themselves upon the extent and the rapidity of its progress.

The College was incorporated by Royal Charter on October 7, 1884. 'The object of the College' is defined by its charter to be threefold: first, to provide such instruction as may qualify students to graduate in Arts, Science, Law, or Medicine at the University of Wales or elsewhere; secondly, 'to give such technical instruction as may be of immediate service in professional and commercial life'; and, thirdly, 'to promote higher education generally' by providing instruction for persons who are not matriculated students. In the pursuance of this object the authorities of the College endeavoured from the beginning so to shape its development as to meet both the general educational needs of the Principality and the special requirements of the large industrial and commercial population of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

For a few years after the opening of the College its work was confined to the Faculties of Arts and Science. The professors and lecturers, however, sought to extend its usefulness, in accordance with the third object specified in the charter, by giving courses of evening

lectures in their several subjects both at the College and at various centres in the neighbourhood of Cardiff. It was in 1899 that the first important new development in the activities of the College was successfully inaugurated. The nature of the industries carried on in the adjacent counties had from the beginning directed the attention of the College Council to the need of providing instruction in Engineering and Mining. Appeals for subscriptions towards establishing professorships in these subjects were made from time to time, but met with nothing like an adequate response. In 1889, however, the Drapers' Company of London came to the rescue of the College authorities with an offer of £1,000 for the equipment of an Engineering Department and of an annual contribution of £300 towards its maintenance. This challenge had the required effect upon the local supporters of the College, and the new department began its work in 1890. The department was subsequently enlarged into a department of Applied Science and Technology, subsidized by the County Councils of Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Cardiff. These Councils, using the powers conferred upon them by the Technical Instruction Act, contribute respectively £1,000, £600, and £600 per annum in aid of the department, receiving in exchange the right to nominate, between them, fifty-five persons to free studentships at the College. The counties further attach maintenance scholarships to these free studentships, so as to enable any student of sufficient merit, however small his means may be, to pursue a College career.

In 1890 a department for the training of elementary

teachers was opened at the College with thirty-one students. The number of King's scholarships tenable at the College at the present time is 120, all of which are restricted to matriculated students. The College also provides training for both men and women students who propose to become teachers in secondary schools. Yet another training department was established in 1890 for teachers in Cookery and Domestic Arts. This department is directed by a special Committee appointed by the College Council, and grants diplomas recognised by the Board of Education. It has already supplied the educational authorities of South Wales with a large number of qualified teachers in these subjects.

But the most important of all the extensions of the work of the College since its foundation has been the establishment of the Medical School. This school, the first of its kind founded in the Principality, started its work in temporary premises in October, 1893. In the following February it took up its quarters in new buildings, which had been erected at a cost, including equipment, of over £6,000, and which were formally opened by the late Sir Richard Quain. The first Dean of the school was the late Professor Alfred Hughes, and the successful organization of the school during its early years was largely due to his exertions. By the year 1903 sixty-seven fully qualified practitioners had passed through the school. In 1900 a department of Public Health was established in connection with the School of Medicine. Students in this department have the use of the Cardiff and County Public Health Laboratory.

The name of the first Dean and the first professor of Anatomy of the Cardiff School of Medicine will ever occupy an honoured place in the history of the College. Alfred Hughes was born at Corris, in Merionethshire, in 1863, and after a course of study in Edinburgh, London, and Leipzig, was for a brief period in private practice at Flint. He was subsequently appointed a lecturer in Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, and in 1893 was elected professor of Anatomy in the newly-founded Medical School at Cardiff. Four years later he resigned the post on his appointment to the chair of Anatomy in King's College, London. In June, 1899, he left England, at a day's notice, to take charge of the Welsh Hospital established at Springfontein in South Africa soon after the outbreak of the Boer War. Here, like his predecessor, Professor Tom Jones, of Manchester, he contracted a fatal disease, and was compelled to return home. He died, of enteric fever, at his London residence, on November 3, 1900. Before leaving Cardiff for London, Professor Hughes had presented to the College a sum of £350 for providing a collection of anatomical specimens to replace his own private collection, which is now in King's College Hospital. When the news of his untimely death reached them, his friends at Cardiff at once determined to raise a fund, supplementary to his gift, for the purpose of founding an anatomical museum at the College to be called after his name. They also resolved to provide a prize medal, to be annually awarded in the Medical School in his memory. The 'Alfred Hughes Anatomical Museum' was formally opened on Friday, June 20, 1902, the first copy of the

prize medal being at the same time publicly presented to the deceased professor's little boy. Alfred Hughes was well known to Welshmen outside his class-room and his laboratory. He was a fluent Welsh speaker and, though a Conservative in politics, was an ardent Welsh nationalist. At the General Election of 1895 he contested North Carnarvonshire in the Conservative interest. His strong and genial personality made him popular with all classes, and his early death as a martyr to professional and patriotic duty evoked a remarkable demonstration of public sympathy. He will always live in the memory of those who knew him as one of the most chivalrous and high-minded Welshmen of his time.

One of the first problems with which the Cardiff authorities had to deal when the College was opened was the provision of residential accommodation for women students. A house was rented for this purpose in 1883, and called the Aberdare Hall, after the name of the first president of its committee of management, the late Dowager Lady Aberdare. A daughter of Lady Aberdare, the Hon. Isabel Bruce, now Mrs. Champion Russell, was appointed first principal of the Hall. The number of students resident at the Hall during the first session was nine, but so rapid was the increase within the next few years that a movement was early set on foot to raise funds for the erection of a new building specially designed for the accommodation of women students. Over £2,000 was subscribed for the purpose, and with the help of a gift of £2,000 from the Pfeiffer Trustees and a loan of £4,000 raised on mortgage, the present Aberdare Hall was built, with

accommodation for forty-one students. The new Hall was opened by Mrs. Sidgwick, Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1895. Even this building has proved too small to accommodate the constantly-increasing number of women students who do not reside with parents or guardians, and it has been found necessary to rent a house as an annex. The Hall, however, has been planned so as to admit of extension, and the completion of the building on an adequate scale is now under the consideration of the College authorities.

Although it had been foreseen, from the start, that the Infirmary buildings in which the College commenced its work in 1883 would soon have to be exchanged for a new and permanent home, it was not until ten years after the foundation of the College that the task of raising funds for the new buildings was seriously entered upon. As soon, however, as the long series of conferences preliminary to the final establishment of the University of Wales were over, and the University had been fairly launched on its academic career, Principal Viriamu Jones threw himself with characteristic energy into the arduous work of organizing a Permanent Buildings Fund. The first step which he took was to approach the Corporation of Cardiff with the view both of obtaining their co-operation in the public appeal for subscriptions, and of inducing them to present the College with a site in a central part of the town. After a series of private negotiations and public discussions, in the latter of which Principal Jones surpassed himself by the force and the persuasiveness of his appeals, the Corporation decided to offer the College a splendid site in the Cathays Park, close to the spot where the new

municipal buildings of Cardiff were to be erected, and where, subsequently, as the result of another gift by the Corporation, the Registry of the University of Wales was built. Having secured the active help and sympathy of the Cardiff Corporation, Principal Jones next approached the Government and the Drapers' Company. The Treasury promised a grant of £20,000, and the Drapers' Company a grant of £10,000, conditionally upon a sum of £20,000 being raised in the locality. Although the 'merchant princes' of Cardiff failed, as a body, to respond to this challenge as readily and as liberally as Principal Jones had expected, by the year 1896 the sum of £20,416 had been either raised or promised locally, making the total amount upon which the College authorities could reckon £50,416. The local subscription-list was headed by Lord Tredegar and Lord Windsor, each of whom contributed £2,500. Other munificent contributors to the fund were Mr. (now Sir) Alfred Thomas, M.P., Mr. John Cory, with subscriptions of £1,000, while eight other gentlemen gave £500 each. On the occasion of the celebration of the College's twenty-first anniversary in October, 1904, Lord Tredegar announced his intention of contributing another £5,000 to the Building Fund. His splendid example proved contagious, and before the close of the celebration festivities additional subscriptions to the amount of nearly £7,000 had been secured. The total sum now standing to the credit of the Building Fund falls little short of £80,000.

The constant strain and anxiety of the work of organizing the movement for securing new buildings, together with the incessant demands upon his time as

an indispensable member of various educational bodies, had by the middle of the year 1899 seriously undermined the health of Principal Viriamu Jones. He was possessed by what can only be termed a passion for committee work and administrative business; and so reckless was he in indulging it as to neglect almost altogether that regularity of habit in taking meals and recreation which much stronger men than he ever was find it necessary to observe in the prolonged and effective discharge of heavy official duties. The illness, which ultimately proved fatal to him, commenced in June, 1899. On May 20, the following year, he left Cardiff for Geneva, full of hope that, in a more genial climate, and far away from any temptation to engage in educational business, his health might be fully restored. His sojourn in Geneva only served to discover that the malady had already done its work, and he died on Sunday, June 2, 1901. It is difficult to exaggerate the loss which not only the Cardiff College, but all Wales, sustained by the untimely death of Principal Viriamu Jones. Not only was he the ablest administrator and the most forceful personality in the educational councils of the Principality, he was also the most earnest and enthusiastic idealist among the Welsh educational workers of his day. Although his knowledge of the Welsh language was but very imperfect, he was in temperament and in spirit as ardent and as patriotic a Welshman as any of his contemporaries. It may, indeed, be doubted whether any other man engaged in the active work of the University of Wales had so vivid and vital a conception of it as a national institution as he. It is

certain that none insisted so constantly and so passionately upon the duty of Welshmen to believe in their own University. The story of his labours in the actual building of the University remains to be told in another chapter. Suffice it here to say that its constitution bears the impress of his constructive genius more clearly than that of any other. He came to Cardiff, as he told his audience at the inauguration ceremonies not merely to direct a College but to found a University. But his services to his College were none the less effectual or disinterested on that account. On the contrary, his allegiance to Cardiff and his eagerness to make his own College a prime force in the University and in the intellectual life of the nation were so intense as often to provoke the suspicion, if not the antagonism, of the friends of the other two constituent colleges. But the central motive of Principal Jones's educational policy was never any paltry desire to exalt his own College at the expense of the others, but rather a patriotic and far-seeing ambition to win Cardiff and the great populous centres of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire into active sympathy and vital contact with the University and the national ideal of which it was the educational embodiment. No Welshman of his time was better qualified for the delicate task of interpreting the academic mind to the general public, and of engaging the interest of municipalities and public bodies of all kinds in various aspects of University work. He possessed in equal degree the gifts both of the missionary and of the diplomatist. He was at once a singularly clear and an impassioned speaker, capable alike of the lucid exposition of intricate details in a

way that held 'the meanest intelligence,' and of a lofty and fervid eloquence in exhortation and appeal. In educational committees and conferences he had no superior as a debater or as a master of the business in hand; and no one knew better how to use the arts of diplomacy in composing a difference or in conducting a difficult negotiation. In him the University lost one who stood out beyond challenge as her greatest educational statesman, and Wales one of the most brilliant and devoted men who ever spent themselves in her service.

The vacant principalship was filled on November 26, 1901, by the election, out of a number of distinguished applicants, of Mr. E. H. Griffiths, Sc.D., F.R.S., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. One of the first duties that engaged the attention of the new Principal was that of assisting the College Council in instituting at the College a suitable memorial of his predecessor. Over £1,000 was raised by private subscription, and with this money it was decided to erect a statue of Principal Jones, to be placed in a prominent position in the new College buildings. The subscription-list was supplemented by a valuable gift from Principal Griffiths of apparatus for a Research Laboratory in Physics, which the Council, mainly as the result of this particular gift, has decided to erect as an additional memorial to Principal Jones.

Of the former professors of the College, removed either by death or by appointment to other posts, the best known to Welshmen all over the world was the late Dr. Joseph Parry, who for fifteen years held the chair of Music. Beginning life as a toiler before the furnace, Joseph Parry early developed a talent for

music which attracted widespread notice. After a long course of study, conducted under no ordinary difficulties, he graduated as a Doctor of Music in the University of Cambridge. He was for a time lecturer on Music in the University College at Aberystwyth, whence he left for Swansea, and then for Cardiff, to start a school of Music of his own. In 1888 he was appointed lecturer, and subsequently became professor of Music at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. As a musician Dr. Parry had no superior among his contemporaries in Wales, and no one did more, whether as a composer or as a festival conductor and Eisteddfod adjudicator, for the advancement of musical culture in the Principality. He was at his best in the composition of oratorios, sacred cantatas, and hymn-tunes, and as the composer of the tune known as 'Aberystwyth' alone has won an imperishable fame among his countrymen. He spent part of his strenuous life in America, and assumed at one time the Eisteddfodic pseudonym of 'Pencerdd America.' He died in his sixty-first year at Penarth, on February 17, 1903.

In addition to those already recorded, the following changes on the College staff deserve mention. The first registrar of the College, Mr. Ivor James, who, as one of the secretaries of the University Conference, took a prominent part in the preliminary negotiations for the foundation of the University, was in 1894 appointed Registrar of the University of Wales, a post he still holds. He was succeeded by Mr. J. Austin Jenkins. The chair of Latin, after the resignation of Mr. Wardale, was for a time held by the Rev. G. Hartwell

Jones, who was subsequently appointed rector of Nutfield, Surrey. He was succeeded by Dr. R. Seymour Conway, the present professor of Latin in the University of Manchester. Principal T. F. Roberts was succeeded in the Greek chair by the Rev. G. C. Richards, who resigned upon his appointment to a tutorial fellowship at Hertford College, Oxford. Professor W. R. Sorley, who succeeded Professor Seth in the chair of Logic and Philosophy, became, after a brief sojourn at Aberdeen, professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. The chair of English Literature was filled, upon the resignation of Professor Ker, by Mr. C. E. Vaughan, who left in 1900 for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and is now professor of English in the newly-constituted University of Leeds. Other changes in and additions to the staff have been too numerous to mention. Some conception, however, of the growth of the College may be derived from the fact that whereas during the first session the staff consisted of twelve professors and lecturers, together with two demonstrators, it now numbers no less than twenty-eight professors and lecturers, seventeen assistant-lecturers and demonstrators, and over fifty additional teachers engaged in the work of the Technical School and of the department for training in Cookery and the Domestic Arts.

This brief history of the College would be incomplete without a word of tribute to the services rendered to it by two men, in particular, who have passed to their rest. The name of the first President of the College, the late Lord Aberdare, has already loomed large in these pages, and his immense services to Welsh education

generally were recognised by his election both as first President of the University College of Wales and as first Chancellor of the University. His connection with South Wales placed him in a peculiarly intimate tutelary relation to the College at Cardiff, and during its early years he watched over its interests with an intensity of solicitude and devotion unsurpassed by any of its governors. While the College owed much to his generosity and his influence with the powerful and the wealthy, it owed still more to his unsparing labours and wise counsels as an administrator. His inaugural address as President displayed a breadth of view and a lofty ideal of educational aim from which, in his practical work on the College Council and Court of Governors, he never swerved. When he died, full of years and honours, in 1895, the College felt that it had lost in him its strongest guardian and its staunchest friend. Second only to the services of Lord Aberdare were those rendered to the College by its third President, Dean Vaughan, of Llandaff. Dr. Vaughan's interest in the institution dated from the 'arbitration day,' when, with Mr. Lewis Williams—a tried friend of the College, who still continues to give time and labour unstintedly in its service—he pleaded the cause of Cardiff. From that time until his death in 1897 he took an active share in the administrative work of the College, especially on its academic side. His distinction as a scholar and his ripe experience of educational life and work were of inestimable value in directing the academic policy of the College at the commencement of its career.

CHAPTER IX

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES

THE history of the University College of North Wales, the youngest of the three colleges which now form the University of Wales, begins with the conference which met at Chester on January 23, 1883, to decide what should be done in North Wales to meet the offer of Government aid towards maintaining a college of University rank in this part of the Principality. That the offer should be accepted, and a united effort made to raise the necessary funds for the establishment of a college, was a conclusion soon arrived at. More difficult to settle was the delicate question of location, for North Wales has no capital, and, indeed, very few towns of a larger population than 10,000. The committee appointed to deal with this matter ultimately asked the conference from which it derived its authority to submit the question to arbitration, and this was accordingly done. After the claims of many competing towns had been fully heard, Lord Carlingford, Lord Bramwell, and Mr. A. J. Mundella on August 24 issued the following award: 'We hereby determine and award that Bangor become the site of the College

From a photograph by] [*John Wickens, Bangor*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, BANGOR

intended to be established and endowed in North Wales. This decision is unanimous.' Thus it was that the old monastic centre on the Menai Straits, which had been a home of learning and culture in the dark ages, became again in the nineteenth century the principal place of education in North Wales.

While this important matter was being settled, the movement was not allowed in other respects to stand still. The subscription-list was opened at the first Chester conference, when seven noblemen and gentlemen announced their intention of subscribing £1,000 each. It grew rapidly during the ensuing months, all classes of the community giving their aid with remarkable unanimity. Of no fact in its history has the College greater reason to be proud than that the Penrhyn quarrymen contributed to the fund over £1,000 and the Dinorwic quarrymen nearly £250 out of their earnings. In each 'gallery' the workmen appointed their own collectors, and to these a fixed sum was paid by each man as the monthly pay-day came round. It is believed that the zeal and self-sacrifice thus shown by the quarrymen had no small share in determining the site of the College, the arbitrators holding that a district capable of such enthusiasm for higher education deserved to have the best educational opportunities at its doors. By the end of 1884 the promises to the College Fund amounted to £37,000, and the general character of the support thus rendered to the new institution will appear from the fact that the subscribers numbered about 8,000, of whom only some seventy were subscribers of £100 and upwards. Bangor University College, like many another

institution in Wales, owes its existence to the deep-seated belief of the Welsh peasant and craftsman and shopkeeper in education.

Side by side with the raising of funds, the necessary work of organization was proceeding. A College founded by the people was naturally provided with a democratic constitution. The Court of Governors, the supreme governing body, which now came into existence, was composed of about 200 members, including not only donors and subscribers and persons holding important official positions, such as Lords-Lieutenant and Members of Parliament, but also representatives of the leading public bodies in North Wales—town councils, urban authorities, school boards, etc.—and of education in all its grades. The first meeting of the Court was held at Chester on December 15, 1883, and it has since met twice and sometimes thrice a year at Chester, Bangor, or Rhyl—for it is to this extent an itinerant body—to receive reports, to elect officers and Council members, and to initiate important College developments. Executive authority, including the appointment of members of staff and the transaction of general financial business, is vested in the Council, which began its work as a body of twenty-one members, but was subsequently enlarged to thirty-one. The professors and permanent lecturers form the Senate, which controls the education and discipline of the students.

Such was the constitution which was approved by the Privy Council and finally embodied in the charter which received her late Majesty's signature on June 4, 1885. A more substantial recognition on the part of

the State was the promise of an annual maintenance grant of £4,000—a promise which, in spite of what had been done by the liberality of rich and poor alike, was an indispensable preliminary to the opening of the College. With a Treasury grant secured, it was possible in May, 1884, to proceed to the election of a principal and a professorial staff. Mr. H. R. Reichel, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, was elected to the headship of the new College, with the chair of English and History, and shortly afterwards the chairs of Classics, Mathematics, Philosophy, Chemistry, and Physics were filled. Principal Reichel still continues to preside over the fortunes of the institution, after twenty years' devoted service to Welsh education; but the five original professors, to whom the College was indebted for much wise and enlightened guidance in the early and experimental stage of its career, have all left Bangor. Professor Henry Jones, a distinguished son of Wales, has succeeded to the chair of Professor Caird, and Professor A. Gray to that of Lord Kelvin, in the University of Glasgow. Professor Dobbie has become the Director of the National Museum of Scotland. Professor G. B. Mathews has returned to Cambridge, and Professor Rhys Roberts has been appointed professor of Classics in the University of Leeds. The first secretary and registrar of the College was Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, who held the appointment until 1892.

The natal day of the College is October 18, for it was on that date that in 1884 it was formally opened. At the inaugural ceremony Lord Aberdare, chairman of the Departmental Committee whose Report had led

to the foundation of the College, and Mr. A. J. Mundella, representing the Government, gave their benediction to the new venture. There were also present the leaders of Welsh public opinion, whose enthusiasm and energy had carried the movement successfully through the initial stages: Lord Powis, the first President of the College, whose inaugural address was instinct with the spirit of classical culture; Mr. William Rathbone, with his unbounded faith—Englishman though he was—in the willingness of the Welsh to make sacrifices for the sake of education; Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Osborne Morgan and Mr. Richard Davies of Treborth, the first Vice-Presidents, and many others. The speeches were brimful of hope for the future of the College and of Welsh education, and in no respect have the expectations been falsified. The increase in number of Welsh University students from hundreds to thousands, the opening of hostels, cordial co-operation between the three Colleges, and the establishment of a University of Wales and of a system of intermediate education—all these were shadowed forth, and all have duly come to pass.

The founders of the College deemed it unwise to sink the funds which had been raised by public subscription in new buildings, for it was recognised that the institution was one which would develop rapidly, and in unexpected directions, thus rendering any buildings which might be put up to meet its initial requirements in a few years entirely obsolete. Its foundations ought rather, it was held, to be deeply laid as a strong teaching institution by providing an efficient staff of professors in the various departments of College work.

Permanent buildings could be erected at a later stage, when the College had achieved success as a place of education, and had established a firm hold upon the affections of the country. Accordingly it was resolved to provide merely temporary accommodation, and the use was secured under a long lease from Lord Penrhyn of what had been a well-known coaching hostelry, the Penrhyn Arms Hotel, situated at Penybryn (anciently Pen Bryn Cegin), between Friars School and the Penrhyn Slate Wharf. A little internal rearrangement was sufficient to convert the main body of the hotel into an Arts department, with provision for the Library, College office, and dining-room. The departments of Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, were not so readily housed; though considerable use was made of the walls of outbuildings, the construction of the scientific laboratories and lecture-rooms had practically to be undertaken from the beginning. In consequence, the science teaching of the College has from the first been carried on under more advantageous conditions than that in arts, and the need of new buildings has been less keenly felt in this connection than in any other. On February 2, 1885, the Chemical and Physical departments were publicly opened, when an address was delivered by Lord Kelvin (then Sir William Thomson). Professor (now Sir) Michael Foster, Secretary of the Royal Society, opened the Biological Laboratories on October 3, 1885.

With the opening of the second session in October, 1885, the College was fairly started upon its career. No provision had been made in the first instance for teaching Modern Languages or Biology; but this

omission was soon remedied by the appointment, in October, 1884, of two lecturers in these subjects, one of whom, Professor R. W. Phillips, is still professor of Botany. The first lecturer in Modern Languages, Dr. E. Trechmann, left in 1888 to take up a similar post in the University of Sydney; he was succeeded by Dr. Frederic Spencer, who, after fourteen years' distinguished tenure of the chair of French and German, was elected in 1903 rector of the High School, Glasgow, and was subsequently appointed one of H.M. Inspectors of Secondary Schools. Another change which it was found necessary to make at an early date was the assignment of Latin to a separate lecturer, leaving Professor Roberts in charge of Greek only. Professor E. V. Arnold (now professor of Latin) joined the staff in this capacity, and thus was formed the Senate as it appears in the first issue of the College Calendar (1885-86), and as it remained for several years. The College opened with 58 students; in the second session the number rose to 90, and in the third to 127; beyond this last figure there was no substantial increase until 1894.

During the early years of its existence, the College courses were chiefly arranged with reference to the degree examinations of the University of London, and it was not possible to develop the teaching work very largely in other directions. In 1889 Mr. J. Morris Jones was appointed lecturer in Welsh, and a department of study was thus founded which has since gained great importance in the College curriculum through the facilities offered by the University of Wales, and the enthusiasm and devotion, well known throughout Wales, of Mr. (now Professor) Morris Jones. About the same time

the College authorities took another important new departure in entering the field of technical, as distinct from purely academic, education and establishing an Agricultural department. Professor Dobbie had from the first taken a deep interest in this subject and, as the result of his efforts, work had already been done in the direction of popular lectures and dairy-school organization, when it was announced that the Government had set aside a sum of £5,000 a year in aid of agricultural education at various centres in the country. The College at once applied for a share of the grant, and adopted a scheme for the working of the department which had been drafted by Professor Dobbie, and which has since been carried out almost to the letter. The first year's grant amounted to only £200, but the Council, confident in the future success of the department, proceeded in October, 1889, to appoint a lecturer in Agriculture and a lecturer in Zoology, and were rewarded by receiving soon after an increased grant of £400. Since that day the work of the department has continued to grow in bulk and in importance, until it now forms a most important part of the activities of the institution. The Board of Agriculture grant has risen to £1,250, £200 of which is appropriated to the experimental farm station and £250 to the Forestry section. The County Councils have come to the aid of the scheme, and devote another £1,000 per annum to extension and other work in which they are specially interested, and an Agricultural staff of seven members gives instruction not only in Agriculture itself, but also in Agricultural Chemistry, Forestry, Veterinary Hygiene, and other kindred subjects. At the College itself

a variety of courses is offered to students, ranging from the one-term course—which is intended for farmers' sons unable to leave their home for a longer period—to the full degree course, which involves a three years' residence following upon matriculation.

Popular evening lectures are given to rural audiences in the market towns, villages and hamlets of the four northern Counties. Dairy instruction is provided at the Llewenni Dairy School, near Denbigh. Experimental plots are laid out and managed, which enable the College staff practically to demonstrate in each district the more important results of agricultural science. The practical instruction, alike in the country and the College, finds its natural centre and focus in the experimental farm station. This was located from 1897 to 1902 at Lledwigan, a large Anglesey farm situated near Llangefni. In the latter year a removal was made to a more convenient site, Colonel Henry Platt having offered the College the tenancy of his home farm at Madryn, near Llanfairfechan.

The first six years of the College were years of considerable financial strain. Library and scholarship expenditure was specially met by means of annual subscriptions; yet, even with this relief, the regular work of the College was much hampered by the limited amount of the ordinary income. Fees were of necessity kept at a low figure, for the institution had been founded to provide higher education for the classes unable by reason of their circumstances to take advantage of the older universities, and it would have been a poor return for the self-sacrificing efforts made by the Welsh quarrymen and farmers to raise against

their sons and daughters the barrier of a high tuition fee. The original subscription fund of £30,000 was of necessity trenched upon for the cost of fitting up the Penrhyn Arms Hotel and its offices for College purposes, and this, with other preliminary expenses, had reduced the 'Building and Endowment Fund' in 1890 to about £15,000. It was, therefore, with unfeigned satisfaction that the supporters of the College learned in the spring of that year that a prosperous Manchester physician, Dr. Evan Thomas, had bequeathed to the institution, subject to the payment of a few legacies, the whole of his substantial fortune. The winding-up of the estate has of necessity been a lengthy process and is not yet completed, but a very large portion was at once available of the £47,000 which the bequest will ultimately realize. The Thomas benefaction enabled those responsible for the management of the College to place it, at a critical period in its history, upon a sound financial footing. A sum of about £6,600 was spent in supplying the more serious deficiencies in equipment, especially of the Library and the Science laboratories, but the bulk of the money was used to raise the general endowment fund of the College from £15,000 to £50,000, at which figure, broadly speaking, it now stands.

It was a provision of the College Charter that female students should be admitted to the courses of instruction, and a large proportion of the students of the early years were women. A hostel was built for their accommodation in 1888. In 1892 differences of opinion arose among the friends of the College as to the management of this institution, with the result that

in the following year the company which controlled it was dissolved. A new company was formed to provide the necessary accommodation, and in October, 1897, after use had been made in the interval of temporary premises, a new building, entitled University Hall, was opened in Upper Bangor by Miss Helen Gladstone. There is room for fifty students, and of late it has been necessary to extend the accommodation by hiring an adjacent house.

In the session of 1893-1894 the question was raised whether the College might not greatly extend its usefulness by attaching to itself a Day Training department, in which students might be trained as elementary teachers. The success of the experiment in other centres of higher education encouraged the Senate and the Council to undertake this additional responsibility, and the October of 1894 saw the department opened with fifteen men and fifteen women students. In some quarters the danger was apprehended that the admission of a large number of students of not very advanced attainments might lower the general standard of the College work; but, though the lack of proper preparation for University studies has been and is still a difficulty which hampers the work of the department, the College has undoubtedly gained greatly by taking its due share in the important work of training the future primary teachers of the nation, and has not sacrificed in doing so the efficiency of any part of its advanced work. Through the opening of the department very many students have, indeed, been enabled to take University courses and attain University honours who could not otherwise have done so. The depart-

ment now includes fifty men and fifty women, in addition to those pursuing a third year's training. It has further provided the starting-point for the development of two important subsidiary departments, the one for the training of secondary teachers (1897) and the other of kindergarten teachers (1901). An interesting venture has been the opening in connection with the latter department of a model kindergarten and practising school in Upper Bangor. The establishment of the training departments has added largely to the number of students, which, from this and other causes, rose from 127 in 1893 to 315 in 1898. The figure for the session of 1904-1905 was 329.

It is now time to refer to what has been, from the point of view of the highest interests of the College, the event of most vital and far-reaching significance in its brief history—namely, the establishment of the University of Wales. While the system of working for the degrees of the London University no doubt served some useful purposes, helping to establish the College in public confidence and paving the way for a more liberal *régime*, it deprived the teachers of the College of that academic freedom—the freedom of the teacher to give the learner the best he has it in him to impart, which is the life-blood of a true University. The story of the rise of the University of Wales—the slow realization of a national ideal and its ultimate triumph over grave practical difficulties—is told elsewhere in these pages, and here it suffices to note that from the first the Bangor staff took an active part in the movement which led to the granting of the charter in 1893, interesting itself especially in the securities for

the maintenance of a high academic standard and the provision of facilities for higher study and research. The first University courses under the new system were delivered in session 1895-1896, but it was not found possible at once to discontinue the preparation for London degrees, which were the goal of so many students of the College, and a period of transition followed, happily of no long duration, which was brought to an end by the announcement made at the Court meeting of October 25, 1899, that separate courses for London University students had been entirely discontinued. Since that year the College has thrown itself without reserve into the work of the University, and has twice seen the University fellowship, the blue ribbon among the honours of the year, awarded to one of its students.

Mention has been made of two of the technical departments of the college—viz., the Agricultural and the Teachers' Training departments. North Wales is not in a position to emulate the example of the great English centres of population, and to establish special technical schools on a separate footing. Any work of this kind attempted must be done in close conjunction with University education, so as to avoid the cost of duplicating men and material for instruction in the pure sciences. Hence, it has always been the aim of the College to undertake, in addition to its primary function as a seat of higher learning, the provision of the technical instruction required by the district, so far as a University College could be expected to supply it. A valuable section of its work under this head has been the Electrical Engineering department, a subsection

of the Physics department, in which, with the aid at first of private subscriptions and latterly of donations from the Worshipful Company of Drapers, theoretical and practical teaching is given to students intending to become electrical engineers. The department was founded by Professor Gray in 1890, and annually enables a number of young Welshmen of special mechanical aptitude to enter at small cost upon a fascinating profession, which is constantly offering a wider field to its devotees. It is hoped that as time goes on the College may be able to offer more and more advantages in the way of professional and technical training. In the subject of Banking a beginning has been made by the establishment, out of the George Rae benefaction, which accrued in April, 1902, of an annual lectureship in Economics, with special reference to banking and finance. Each winter a short course of lectures by some recognised authority on the subject is given at Bangor, and attended by bank officers and others from the city and the surrounding district.

Within the last few years the dominating question in College administration has been that of new buildings. As the number of students rose, the old buildings grew less and less convenient for their purpose, and various expedients had to be adopted to increase their capacity. The residential quarters occupied by the Principal and the Registrar were first appropriated for teaching purposes; in 1892 new buildings were erected for the Agricultural and Zoological departments; and finally, upon the establishment of the Day Training department, it was found absolutely necessary to acquire the tenancy of additional land, and erect

thereon in the summer of 1895 a temporary structure, which now serves, among other ends, the purpose of a general College Assembly Hall. The increase from 267 to 315 students at the beginning of session 1898-1899 at last compelled the College authorities to consider the whole question of new buildings, which, it was now realized, might have to be provided in the near future. Careful consideration of the matter in all its bearings during 1899 led to the summoning of a special meeting of the Court of Governors for January 22, 1900, at which it was unanimously resolved that the present site was not a suitable one for the permanent home of the institution, and that steps should be taken without delay to secure one better fitted for the purpose. The Penrhyn Arms site, though in itself of agreeable aspect, and covering an area of about three acres, labours under the serious disadvantage of being remote from the central and the residential parts of the city, from which it is separated by the industrial suburb of Hirael. Its area is, moreover, too restricted to allow of such expansion as may reasonably be expected in the case of the institution representing University education in North Wales. It was recognised from the first that it was a matter of the utmost importance to the city of Bangor itself that its chief institution—one of the principal sources of its prosperity—should be properly housed and enabled to do its work in the most efficient manner, and accordingly the active assistance of the City Council was readily pledged to the College authorities in the matter of selecting and acquiring a new site. Other towns in North Wales, realizing that the question of location might now be

reopened, made flattering and generous offers, intended to lure the College from its home on the shores of the Menai. Bangor was, however, not to be thus robbed of its hard-won pre-eminence, and in March, 1902, the Corporation offered as a free gift a valuable site in the heart of the city, covering rather more than ten acres, which was on April 30 gratefully accepted by the Court of Governors. The land thus placed at the disposal of the College consists of two parts—viz., four acres of good building land on the heights of Upper Bangor, now known as Penrallt, and specially acquired for this purpose, and six acres of adjoining woodland and declivity, with a margin of building land on the lower level, presented by the Corporation out of its recent purchase of the park and demesne of the bishops of Bangor. The cost of this gift to the city was about £14,000. Its value was much enhanced by the construction through the park of a new road, which gives the site an effective frontage, and by the purchase of an additional five acres of the park on the part of the College, so as to protect the site offered by the town from subsequent injury through building operations in its neighbourhood.

It was a happy circumstance that the question of the future site of the College was thus determined a few days before the ceremony of May 9, 1902, when the towns of Bangor and Carnarvon had the honour of jointly receiving H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his installation as Chancellor, in succession to His Majesty the King, of the University of Wales. The installation ceremony took place in the Carnarvon pavilion. It was followed by an official luncheon at

Bangor, held in a marquee pitched close to the new site, when His Royal Highness made gracious reference to the questions which had just been decided, and to the new buildings which would soon be raised by North Wales upon the site given by the 'public-spirited liberality of that ancient city.' The Prince and Princess afterwards paid a visit to the College, where they were received by the President, Lord Kenyon, and had ample opportunity of observing the measure of progress already attained by the institution, and the limitations imposed upon its usefulness by the defective accommodation.

Since 1902 the College authorities have seriously addressed themselves to the task of raising funds for the new buildings. This latest enterprise has been undertaken in the same spirit as that which animated the first founders of the College—in the belief, that is to say, that the matter is one which deeply concerns the whole of the inhabitants of North Wales, from the lowest to the highest rung in the social ladder, and in full confidence that an appeal to the country, with its inbred love of culture, would, in the long-run, be most fully justified. While the sum needed—viz, from £180,000 to £200,000—is so large that the help of the State and of wealthy individual donors is indispensable, it has been the deliberate policy of the College to inaugurate this movement by a general canvass of its own district, and to take pains to secure the support of those who can but give their shillings, no less than of those able to contribute on a substantial scale. In carrying out this policy, the friends of the College have already had ample and gratifying proof of the hold which the

institution in the short period of its existence has established upon the country, and when the five years' canvass has been completed, there is reason to believe it will furnish a record of popular enthusiasm for higher education not to be outdone in any part of the United Kingdom.

The University College of North Wales has, from the start, been singularly fortunate in its administrators and its benefactors. Death has already sadly thinned the ranks of those who took a prominent part in its foundation and its early government, and the names of some of these departed friends of the College deserve special notice. Its first President, the late Earl of Powis, linked the College, in the words of one who knew him well, 'more closely than any other could have done with old Wales and the old learning; and in the actual discharge of the duties of the Presidency, none could have given a better example of "the constant service of the antique world."' One of the staunchest friends of the College at the time of its foundation, and one of the most eloquent advocates of its claims upon the support of the country, was the late Very Rev. H. T. Edwards, Dean of Bangor. Dean Edwards' campaign in Anglesey in 1883 on behalf of the Fund for the establishment of the College was one of the most dramatic incidents of the whole movement, and is still vividly remembered in that county. His name is commemorated at the College by a prize which is annually awarded to the Welsh student who, in the opinion of the Senate, is best qualified to pursue advanced studies. Of the original members of the Council who have passed away, none rendered the

College more devoted administrative service than the late Mr. R. A. Jones of Liverpool. A trained lawyer, a graduate in high mathematical honours at Oxford, and possessed of independent means, he was able to give more time and attention to College business than, perhaps, any other man among his colleagues on the Council, and for some years he may be said to have acted as almost a second Registrar. The R. A. Jones Memorial Prize, annually awarded to the best student in Mathematics, remains as a permanent record of the value in which his services to the College were held by his friends.

But of all the benefactors of the Bangor College the late Mr. William Rathbone, its second President, stands in honourable and unchallenged pre-eminence. The amount of Mr. Rathbone's money contributions to various College funds from time to time exceeded that of any other of its friends who contributed to it during their lifetime; but his services, whether to the College or to Welsh education generally, are not to be assessed as equivalent to so many pounds sterling. He was an enthusiastic and indefatigable labourer in the cause of education, possessing in an extraordinary degree the capacity of enlisting the interest and the energies of others in every form of educational work to which he devoted himself. No better tribute to his work and character could be given here than the well-considered resolution in which the College Council recorded their appreciation of his services at the time of his death in 1900:

'The College recognises in him a unique example of unselfish, energetic, and lifelong devotion to the moral and social elevation of his fellow-countrymen. It recalls

not only the unfailing generosity with which during a long life he supported every movement for the public good, but also the statesman-like largeness of view, the breadth of personal sympathy, the insight, amounting to intuition, which enabled him to discern the possibilities of a country and people with whom he first came into contact after middle life, and, above all, the invincible faith in his fellow-men, qualities which together made him one of the most potent forces for social amelioration during the last half-century. The Council feels that the memory of his life and work will remain an imperishable inspiration for philanthropic and educational effort in this country, and that thus the ardent desire of Mr. Rathbone himself will be fulfilled, that the causes to which he devoted his life might continue to command the enthusiasm of devoted workers.'

It was due to Mr. Rathbone that the late Sir Henry Tate became interested in educational movements in North Wales, and supported them by munificent contributions. The Bangor College received from Sir Henry Tate, during his lifetime, besides other large subscriptions, a gift of £1,000 for the establishment of scientific and technical scholarships, and, after his death, his trustees made a further donation of the same amount for a similar purpose. In the roll of Welsh educational benefactors there are no more illustrious names than those of these two large-hearted Englishmen.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT

'THE colleges of Wales,' said Principal Viriamu Jones in his inaugural address at Cardiff in 1883, 'will be isolated units until the University of Wales exists, not in name, but in fact.' From the moment of his acceptance of the principalship of the Cardiff College it became Viriamu Jones's main ambition to break down the isolation of the three Welsh colleges, and, by working for their federation under a common charter, to give a definite aim and direction to the many vague ideals and dim aspirations cherished by those who still hoped for and believed in a national University for Wales. For both the faith and the hope even of the most sanguine supporters of what we have called the first University movement had been sorely tried during the seventies. The University College of Wales, both in equipment and in number of students, had fallen far short of the national degree-giving institution of their dreams. In spite of the heroic popular rally to its support, it had never any hope of becoming an institution of University rank without State assistance. And when, at last, promise of State assistance came, the sudden

foundation of two other colleges so disarranged the perspective, so to speak, of the original University designers as to leave them without a plan, if not indeed without hope of ever seeing the establishment of a Welsh University at all. For it required time, and the practical assurance afforded by the steady growth of the three colleges, to convince even those to whom the federal idea was no novelty that, under the changed conditions, a University could be founded in Wales within the lifetime of their generation. The Welsh colleges —so most people were in the habit of saying in 1885 —were doomed for a quarter of a century to serve as preparatory schools for the degrees of the University of London.

A few even of the veterans who had met at the Freemasons' Tavern in 1863 had not, however, altogether lost hope. But it was from within the colleges themselves that the impetus came which gave life and substance to the new University movement, and insured its speedy and successful issue. And the first call to united action between the colleges came from Principal Viriamu Jones. At a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the London National Eisteddfod of 1887, presided over by Principal Edwards, of Aberystwyth, Principal Jones opened a discussion on 'The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System,' with a powerful plea for the foundation of a national University as an indispensable condition of the thorough and successful organization of all grades of educational work in the Principality. A University, he pointed out, was wanted in Wales to 'order the scattered and disconnected results of previous action as a magnet

arranges the iron filings within its field of force.'* The result of this discussion was the passing of, among others, the following resolution:

'That it is the opinion of this meeting that definite action should be taken to impress on Her Majesty's Government the desire of the Welsh people for the establishment of a Welsh University.'

It was some time, however, before any 'definite action' to this end was taken. For it soon became apparent that, before the Government could profitably be approached, a long series of conferences would be necessary, in order to bring the educational leaders of Wales into some sort of agreement as to the precise character and constitution of the University. The first of these conferences had been arranged for at the meeting addressed by Principal Jones, and it had been left to the Cymmrodorion Society to convene it. Invitations were sent to representatives of the three colleges and of the secondary and elementary schools of the Principality to meet at Shrewsbury early in January, 1888. The conference was presided over by Professor John Rhys, and the most important, in its bearing upon the University question, of a number of resolutions passed was the following:

'That in the opinion of this conference it is expedient that the provision for intermediate and collegiate education in Wales and Monmouthshire should be completed by a University organization, and that the inspection of State-aided intermediate schools should be committed to the Welsh University, due provision being made for the representation of such schools on its executive body.'

* 'The Welsh People,' p. 495.

The other resolutions had reference almost exclusively to the provision necessary for intermediate education. The paramount need of the moment, it was generally felt, was to press Parliament to give legislative effect to the proposals for a system of intermediate schools in Wales which had been adumbrated in the Report of Lord Aberdare's Committee. It was with this end more immediately in view that the members of the first Shrewsbury conference invited the Welsh Peers and Members of Parliament to meet them at Westminster as soon as possible after the reassembling of Parliament. The joint meeting was held on March 16, 1888, under the presidency of Lord Aberdare, and the members of both Houses who were present undertook to do all in their power to get Parliament to legislate on the lines of the Shrewsbury resolutions. The result, so far as intermediate education was concerned, was the passing in 1889 of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act.

It will be seen from the terms of the resolution just quoted that, in 1888, the establishment of 'a University organization' in Wales was regarded as necessary in the interests not only of the three colleges, but also of the intermediate schools. The University was to 'complete' the Welsh educational system by bringing the colleges and schools alike under the control of a central 'executive body.' For this conception of the University's functions Principal Viriamu Jones was primarily responsible. It had figured prominently both in his first sketch of the University's constitution at Cardiff in 1883, and in his Cymmrodorion address of 1887. As it happened, it was the only considerable proposal

in his scheme of University organization which he failed to carry. Whether the Welsh intermediate schools would have fared better had their control been committed to the University Court rather than to the Central Welsh Board is a question which we are not called upon to answer. Principal Jones, at any rate, fought tenaciously to the last against the creation of the Central Board. The establishment of the Board appeared to him to be not only a needless addition to an already too complicated and cumbrous educational machinery, but a deliberate breach of the unity of policy and administration which he held to be essential to a thoroughly national system of education in Wales.

The Shrewsbury conference of January, 1888, had the effect of stimulating the authorities of the University colleges to take, themselves, some practical steps towards securing a common University organization. For, after all, the movement mainly concerned the colleges, and it was from their standpoint rather than from that of the intermediate schools that the University question needed to be primarily approached. On April 27, 1888, the Court of Governors of the University College of North Wales passed a resolution inviting the authorities of the other two colleges to appoint a number of representatives 'to meet an equal number appointed by that Court, to formulate a draft charter for a degree-conferring University.' A conference so constituted met shortly afterwards in London, and came to the decision

'That an application be made to the Government for a charter to constitute a University for Wales on the same general lines as the charter already granted to the Victoria

University, with such modifications as may be required by the peculiar conditions and circumstances of Wales.'

This decision was communicated to the Lord President of the Council (Lord Cranbrook), and he, in reply, invited the representatives of the colleges to prepare a draft charter, and to submit it for his consideration.

At this stage, just when harmonious and effective co-operation between the three colleges appeared at last to have been secured, the movement met with a temporary check. A debate, which was at times conducted with some acrimony, arose as to whether the degrees of the University should be confined to students educated at its 'constituent' colleges, or given, as in the University of London, in recognition of examination work only. The opposition to the creation of an exclusively 'teaching University' found, for a time, such strong expression that it was deemed inexpedient to respond to Lord Cranbrook's invitation to draft a charter. The College authorities decided to let the debate run its course, in the hope that ultimately a clear indication would be given to them of what the Welsh public, or those who undertook to guide them in such matters, really wanted. By the Spring of 1891 the feeling in favour of a teaching University had become sufficiently evident to encourage the colleges once more to confer with the view of framing a charter upon the lines which they had originally contemplated. The invitation to a joint conference came again from the University College of North Wales, and on November 11, 1891, what came to be known as the Welsh University Conference—a body of sixty members—met for the first time at Shrewsbury. Lord Aberdare was

voted into the chair, and Mr. Ivor James and Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies were elected honorary secretaries.

The first act of the Conference was to formulate the following general propositions:

'1. That the University of Wales shall be a teaching University; that is, that no candidate shall be admitted to a degree unless he shall have pursued such a course of study at one of the colleges of the University as the University Governing Body may prescribe.

'2. That the teachers, or any one or more of them, in each faculty in each college in the University have a substantial share in the original framing and any subsequent modification of the curriculum and scheme of examination.

'3. That the colleges in the University shall be the three University colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff, and such other colleges as may hereafter, with the sanction of the Crown, be recognised by the University Governing Body.

'4. That powers be sought enabling the University to give degrees in Arts and Science, and subsequently in such other faculties—including Theology, Medicine, Law, and Music—as may be sanctioned from time to time by the Crown at the request of the University Governing Body.

'5. That it is desirable that provision should be made in the charter for the encouragement of University Extension Lectures.

'6. That it is desirable that the University should have the power of undertaking the inspection and examination of Intermediate Schools and other educational institutions, and of granting certificates of proficiency in connection therewith.

'7. That in order to secure the speedy establishment of a University on these lines a committee, consisting of four representatives from each of the bodies composing this conference—the representatives to be nominated by the respective bodies—be appointed to prepare a draft charter of the University, and submit the same to a subsequent meeting of this conference.'

All these resolutions, except the second, were unanimously passed; as to the second, there was much difference of opinion, and the question was for a considerable time afterwards the subject of keen debate. The bodies constituent of the Conference having endorsed these general proposals, a Draft Charter Committee of thirty-two members was duly nominated. This committee met several times during the year 1892, and reported a complete scheme to the full Conference on January 6, 1893. After a prolonged discussion, the committee's scheme was, with some slight modifications, adopted. It was found that, in one particular, the Draft Charter Committee had gone beyond the instructions of the Conference. As the result both of expressions of public opinion and of debate in committee, it was resolved to make Theology one of the faculties to be established at the outset, and this decision the Conference confirmed. The Conference, having adopted the scheme and appointed committees for its legal drafting and other necessary matters of procedure, ordered copies of it to be furnished to the press, to all members of the County and County Borough Councils, to the Councils of the three University colleges, and to the members of the Joint Intermediate Education Committees of the Principality.

In this way the proposed University charter was subjected to the most thorough public examination, and no one who had a title to form an opinion upon its provisions found cause to complain of any attempt on the part of its promoters to burke discussion or to 'rush' the scheme. For four months the proposals of the University Conference remained before the public, and were eagerly discussed from end to end of Wales. As might have been expected, some strongly-marked differences of opinion showed themselves in various quarters, mainly on the question of the number and character of the teaching institutions or teachers to be recognised as Colleges of the University or allowed to present candidates for its examinations. But in the end it became abundantly clear that the Conference had accurately gauged the situation, and that the general opinion of the country was with it.

While the scheme was being drafted in committee, and the general question was being so eagerly discussed in public, the Government had been taking steps of its own to ascertain the conditions of the University problem in Wales. Mr. Acland, who had become Vice-President of the Council in Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1892, and who had been closely identified for some years with the movement for intermediate education in Wales, appointed Mr. Owen M. Edwards, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, to report upon the equipment and general condition of the three Welsh colleges. Mr. Edwards's report was a confidential one to the Vice-President, but that it was entirely favourable to the colleges and to the scheme of a federal University, of which they alone were, for the time, to be the constituent

institutions, may be inferred from the ready way in which the Privy Council ultimately gave its sanction to the charter.

By April, 1893, the scheme had been put into the legal form of a Royal charter, and was finally considered at a meeting of the University Conference held on the 29th of that month. Subject to a few modifications in the provisions governing admission to degrees in Theology, and some slight changes of detail, the document was unanimously adopted. Under cover of a petition from the three University colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff, the charter was submitted to the Lord President (Lord Kimberley), and was, with a few trifling amendments, approved by the Privy Council, and ordered to be laid on the table of each House of Parliament.

The echoes of the opposition which the proposals of the Conference had met with in the Principality were faintly heard in both Houses of Parliament. But the opposition did not come in the two Houses from the same quarter. In the Lords the friends of St. David's College, Lampeter, raised their last ineffectual protest. The authorities of St. David's College do not appear to have shown at any time an inclination to act upon the recommendation of Lord Aberdare's Committee* and surrender their charter on condition of the admission of the College as a constituent institution of the new University. Even had they made a serious effort to obtain such recognition, they would almost certainly have failed; for, altogether apart from the opposition that would have been offered to a proposal to place a

* See p. 116.

Church institution on a footing of equality with the three free University colleges, the inadequate equipment of St. David's College, even on the Arts side, would have proved an effectual barrier to its inclusion in the University as a full constituent college. The charter, however, was not allowed to pass without a challenge from the friends of Lampeter. The College, in the first instance, lodged a petition against it with the Privy Council, but without effect. On August 29 the Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jayne) moved in the House of Lords

'That the assent of Her Majesty be withheld from the draft charter of the proposed University of Wales until such portions of the aforesaid draft charter shall have been omitted as prevent the inclusion of St. David's College, Lampeter, in the county of Cardigan, as a constituent college of the aforesaid University.'

As Lord Knutsford, speaking from the Bishop's own side, pointed out in the debate, the terms of this resolution betrayed ignorance of the actual provisions of the charter; for the Crown, by the charter, reserved to itself the right of making by supplemental charter any college in Wales a constituent college of the University. It was also stated in the course of the debate that St. David's College had not, at any stage in the proceedings of the University Conference, advanced a claim to be included as a constituent college. The Lords, however, passed the Bishop of Chester's motion by a vote of forty-one to thirty-two.

The opposition in the Commons came mainly from one Welsh Member, Mr. Bryn Roberts. He moved the rejection of the charter on the ground that it contained

no provision for granting degrees to non-collegiate students. This was a question which had been freely debated in the Principality, and, as we have already seen, the University Conference had come to the conclusion that public opinion was decisively in favour of a teaching, as against an examining, University. The feeble support given to Mr. Bryn Roberts's motion showed that the Welsh Members of Parliament believed the Conference to have acted in the best interests of their constituents. The motion was negatived without a division. The Government decided to ignore the Lords' resolution, and the charter received the Royal assent and was duly sealed on November 30, 1893.

This review of the various stages of the second, and the successful, University movement has had, necessarily, to be brief. To have attempted to give a detailed account of the discussions which took place both in the conferences and in the press would have extended this volume beyond its due limits; besides, the points at issue, however important they may have appeared and however eagerly they were debated at the time, have now largely lost their interest. As we have already said, there were differences of opinion even among the members of the University Conference themselves. Among those who fought strenuously for a charter on somewhat different lines from that ultimately adopted were the present Bishop of St. David's (then Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter) and Dr. R. D. Roberts, of Cambridge. At the meeting of the Conference held on January 6, 1893, we find that these two gentlemen made a final attempt to modify the scheme of the Draft Charter Committee by moving a series of resolutions

having as their main object the enlargement of the powers of the charter by giving to the University authorities the right to recognise as 'University teachers' persons who were not members of the teaching staffs of the three University colleges. The proposals of Dr. Roberts were, indeed, described by Lord Aberdare, the chairman of the Conference, as tantamount to 'a rival charter,' and they had been criticised at some length by Dr. (now Sir) Isambard Owen in a printed document bearing the date January 2, 1893.

'The first duty of a Welsh University,' wrote Dr. Owen in the final paragraph of his letter, 'is to strengthen and assist the work of the National Colleges. Its next duty, I would say, is towards those more specialized institutions that kept the lamp of learning alight through a less favoured age. That collegiate education exhausts the possibility of higher training in Wales no one wishes to assert. Any expedient that may bring University teaching home to those whom it does not now reach all the members of our Committee would gladly see tried, but tried tentatively and cautiously, and not so as to risk the loss of what we have already gained. Diffused teaching can never be really equal to collegiate teaching, as the incalculable advantage of academic association forms no part of it. Nor can it be created by a stroke of a pen in a charter. It means the application of much public money to this particular purpose. The public fund for higher education in Wales can be but a limited one. Experiment only can prove whether any part of it may be more usefully expended in carrying teaching to students or in bringing students to the teaching. Concentration, as a rule, means economy of force; breadth of effort may easily involve waste of power; and "generosity" is sometimes

of that kind which impoverishes many and enriches none.'

In the actual drafting of the charter none of the members of the University Conference had had a larger share than Dr. Isambard Owen. Lord Aberdare, speaking from the chair at the Shrewsbury meeting of January, 1893, assigned to him the chief credit for the form into which the long-discussed University scheme had been put, adding that 'no trained draftsman could have shown more skill' in the execution of the task. So conspicuous, indeed, was the ability displayed by Dr. Owen throughout the proceedings of the University Conference as to mark him out, at their close, as the inevitable head of the executive body of the new University. The University Court, when constituted, elected him by acclamation the first Senior Deputy Chancellor* of the University—a position which carried with it the chairmanship of the Court, and one which Sir Isambard Owen has for ten years held with supreme distinction and success. We have said that the University, as ultimately constituted and organized, bears the impress of the genius of Principal Viriamu Jones more than that of any other single man. But for the smooth and efficient conduct of its business hitherto, no less than for the framing of its charter and its statutes, the University of Wales owes most to the

* There are two Deputy Chancellors, Senior and Junior, who are annually elected by the University Court, and represent the Chancellor *in absentiâ* both in the chairmanship of the Court and in all other functions appertaining to the office. The Vice-Chancellor is chairman of the Senate and the academic head of the University, whose powers, like those of a continental 'Rector,' are primary and not delegated.

precision, the skill, and the administrative tact and capacity of Sir Isambard Owen.

The Welsh University Conference was not dissolved immediately after the charter had received the Royal assent. It had still work to do; more especially that of submitting to the Treasury a statement of the claims of the new University to an annual Parliamentary grant. The Conference, accordingly, met once more in London in January, 1894, to consider the terms of, and to present, a Petition to Her Majesty's Treasury. The Conference was received as a deputation on behalf of the University by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir William Harcourt) on January 12. The Petition then presented recounted, under several heads, the chief facts in the recent history of Welsh education which have been recorded in this volume, and concluded with the following statements bearing upon the immediate needs of the University:

'1. That, according to a careful estimate which has been prepared, the University of Wales when in full work can hardly incur less, if it is to be really efficient, than an annual expenditure of some £5,840 in remunerating its examiners; and that its administrative expenses are likely to amount to some £3,630.*

'2. That the extreme poverty of many of the students who resort to the Welsh colleges, and who are not infrequently found to be making great sacrifices and enduring

* A note to this clause adds: 'Both the administrative expenses and the remuneration of Examiners will be unavoidably heightened by the amount of travelling which the geographical situation of the University, and the distance in point of time between its constituent colleges, will render necessary on the part of all those engaged in working the University' (see Article XX. of the Charter, Clause 2).

great hardships to procure a University education, will make it necessary that the fees for admission to Degree examinations should be placed at a very low rate, and will preclude any large recoupment of expenses being hoped for from that source.

'3. That, according to the above-named estimate, hardly more than £2,270 can be expected to be recouped from fees, leaving a sum of £7,200 to be provided from other sources.

'4. That, therefore, allowing a reasonable margin for fluctuations, an assured income of £8,000 a year will be necessary to place the University in a sound financial position, and enable it to carry on its work in a satisfactory manner.

'5. But that this sum will not, of course, be required at the outset, as the full expenditure will not be incurred until the students who commence their course at the time of the opening of the University arrive at Degree standard.

'6. That, therefore, if a sum of £3,000 were available to cover administrative expenses only during the first year, while the statutes and curricula of the University are being prepared, and if annual increments to meet the progressive charges for matriculation and for intermediate and final examinations might be expected during the three or four succeeding years until the full sum of £8,000 is attained, the work of the University might safely be started.

'7. That this estimate allows nothing for University Scholarships or Fellowships contemplated by Article XV. of the charter (Clause 5), although the Petitioners are of opinion that to insure due encouragement to and due facilities for advanced study, an additional annual income of some £3,000 a year for this purpose will be eventually desirable or even necessary.

'And the Petitioners therefore pray that a sum of

£3,000 may be granted from Her Majesty's Treasury for the ensuing financial year in order to bring the charter just granted into operation, and that such further provision be made to meet the subsequent necessary requirements of the University as is indicated above.

'And the Petitioners would respectfully ask the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the generous provision which has been from time to time made by Her Majesty's Treasury, in the shape both of capital sums and of annual grants, for the maintenance and improvement of University education in Scotland and Ireland.'

The Chancellor of the Exchequer acceded to this Petition to the extent of recommending Parliament to vote a grant of £3,000 to the University for the first year. The annual grant was subsequently increased to £4,000, at which figure it still stands.

The first official University meeting held under the charter was that of the Guild of Graduates at Shrewsbury on March 17, 1894. The Guild consisted, at the time of its constitution, of all students, past or present, of the three University colleges who had graduated in any University in Great Britain or Ireland, together with all the members, for the time being, of the teaching staffs of the three colleges. The business of this first meeting was to elect thirteen representatives of the Guild on the University Court. At a subsequent meeting the Guild elected Mr. Owen M. Edwards, of Lincoln College, Oxford—a former student of the University College of Wales—its first Warden.

The University Court met for the first time at the Privy Council Office in London on April 6, 1894.* The

* A list of the members of the first University Court will be found in Appendix III.

Court was received by the Prime Minister (Lord Rosebery), who, in his capacity of Lord President of the Council, delivered a brief address in which he expressed his admiration of the self-sacrificing struggle of Wales for higher education, and wished the new University 'God-speed.' Lord Aberdare was then voted into the chair, and the meeting proceeded to appoint committees to frame statutes and to determine the departments of study which were to be recognised by the University. The reports of these committees were considered and adopted, with some slight amendments, at an adjourned meeting held at Shrewsbury on June 8. The formal recognition of the various departments of study determined the constitution of the Senate, which body was, by the charter, to consist of the heads of such departments in each of the constituent colleges. The members of the Senate held an informal meeting at Jesus College, Oxford, the first week in July, and sat, for the first time as a duly constituted body, at Aberystwyth on September 28 and the two following days. Principal Viriamu Jones became, by virtue of his seniority among the three principals, the first Vice-Chancellor of the University and first chairman of the Senate.

Lord Aberdare was unanimously elected first Chancellor of the University, but his formal installation in the office was not to take place. Early in 1895 'the grand old man of Welsh education,' as he had come to be called, passed away, and the meeting of the Court on May 10 of that year, which was to have made arrangements for the ceremony of his installation, could do no more than put on record its sense of the

noble services which, for a quarter of a century, Lord Aberdare had rendered to the cause of education in Wales. No steps were taken for some time to elect his successor, but opinion gradually matured in favour of inviting His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to accept the highest educational dignity attached to his Principality. The Prince, having graciously signified his acceptance of the invitation, was duly installed Chancellor, amid a remarkable demonstration of popular enthusiasm and rejoicing, at Aberystwyth, on June 26, 1896.

The installation ceremony of June, 1896, will never fade from the memory of those who were privileged to witness it. The day was regarded throughout the Principality as one set apart for 'public thanksgiving and joy' for the successful accomplishment of a great national enterprise. Never before had so representative a gathering of all that was distinguished in the political, social, and intellectual life of Wales been brought together as that upon which the Prince of Wales looked from his academic chair of state at Aberystwyth. The significance of the occasion as the official celebration of the natal day of the University was admirably set forth in the Address which Dr. Isambard Owen, the Senior Deputy Chancellor, presented to his Royal Highness.

'We cannot,' the Address ran, 'like our elder brethren, lay the traditions of centuries at your Royal Highness's feet. Our academic history is in the future, our academic reputation still to achieve. Some measure of special interest, nevertheless, both the origin and the plan of our University may claim, being, as it is, a part of an

ordered system of public education which has been built up in Wales of recent years in response to a demand and in pursuance of an effort which came from the very heart of the people, and which men of all ranks, creeds, and parties have joined together in promoting. Neither the demand nor the effort are of this generation alone, and of those who initiated the movement but few are here to-day. It is fifteen years since Sir Hugh Owen ended his long and fruitful career; Lord Aberdare, our late revered leader, has been more recently taken from us. Though we witness the harvest, it is to our predecessors, who faced the discouragement of winter, that the meed of honour is chiefly due. . . . The University that sprung from a popular movement became, as was fit, the University of the people. The representative principle woven into its entire constitution links it, as few Universities are linked, alike to the other educational agencies of the country, and to almost every other condition of life within its bounds. The benefits of the University and participation in its work are henceforth a public heritage, in which all classes may share. Your Royal Highness has graciously accorded the final element of completeness to a national institution; and the University begins its career with the happy augury that the Prince and the people of Wales are united in its work.'

Addresses were also presented to the Royal Chancellor-elect by the Senate and the Guild of Graduates. In the course of his reply the Prince of Wales emphasized, above all, the popular character of the movement which had resulted in the University:

'It has not been,' he said, 'merely the effort of the few to diffuse an abstract desire for education which had not previously existed; it has mainly represented the

practical endeavour of the many to secure for their children advantages the value of which they could appreciate, although in many cases they had been deprived of the boon themselves. The three colleges comprised in the general designation of "the University of Wales" have all been founded within the last five and twenty years, and are witnesses to the earnestness and capacity for self-denial of the people in furthering educational work. . . . I am persuaded that our University will not be national in name only. Owing to the peculiar characteristics which I have mentioned, the future credit and welfare of Wales are in an exceptional degree bound up in the conduct of its educational institutions, and a great responsibility rests on the University, by which the efficiency of similar establishments will in some measure be influenced. It will be our duty to bring still more closely home to the Welsh people the objects of higher education —on which their minds are already set—to offer additional incentives to the continuous pursuit of knowledge, and to aim at developing those particular forms of mental activity which are most in harmony with the genius and instincts of Wales, and which will best enable its inhabitants to assist in furthering the interests of the civilized world. Its aims must be high, its vigilance keen, its care incessant. The field of work on which it is entering is one of promise, and, should it be true to its mission, we may confidently anticipate that success and fame will attend its efforts.'

The Prince, duly installed in the office of Chancellor, then proceeded to confer a number of honorary degrees. The Vice-Chancellor, first of all, 'presented' to him the Princess of Wales, and, taking her hand, the Prince proclaimed her in sonorous Latin—to the

manifest amusement of both and amid the enthusiastic plaudits of the gathering — a Doctor of Music of the new University. The Vice-Chancellor then presented Mr. Gladstone, Lord Spencer (Chancellor of the Victoria University) and Lord Herschell (Chancellor of the University of London), in the order named, and each was admitted by His Royal Highness to the degree of Doctor of Laws. The highest pitch of enthusiasm was reached when the venerable figure of Mr. Gladstone was seen approaching the daïs and bending low to receive an honour which the Prince had evident pride in bestowing.

Upon his accession to the Throne in 1901, His Majesty resigned the office of Chancellor, but conveyed to the University authorities his desire to retain his connection with the University under another title — that of Protector. Thus the University of Wales enjoys the unique distinction among British Universities of having the Sovereign as both its Protector and its Visitor. The University Court unanimously decided to invite the new Prince of Wales to accept the vacant Chancellorship, and His Royal Highness was formally installed on May 9, 1902. The actual ceremony of installation took place in the great Pavilion at Carnarvon, but, as the 'congregation' was held under the auspices of the University College of North Wales, the events of the day included a visit to that college and a public luncheon at Bangor. The proceedings at Carnarvon were, in the main, a repetition of the Aberystwyth ceremonies of 1896. The Prince, in acknowledging the addresses presented to him, paid, like his father, a tribute to the popular energy and

enthusiasm which had brought the University movement to a successful issue, and expressed

'his profound satisfaction that he made his first visit to Wales as its Prince in connection with a work so creditable to the country, so important in itself, and one so precious to Welshmen of the present generation, and of all the future generations.'

At Carnarvon, as at Aberystwyth, a number of honorary degrees were conferred. The Princess of Wales was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Music, and doctorates in Law or Letters were conferred upon Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Chancellor of the University of St. Andrew's), Lord Rosse (Chancellor of the University of Dublin), Dr. Edward Caird (the Master of Balliol), Sir Richard Jebb, Dr. J. A. H. Murray, Professor John Rhys, and Lord Justice Vaughan Williams.

The federal constitution of the University of Wales obliges the Court, the Senate, and the Guild of Graduates to be, of necessity, peripatetic bodies. The Senate meets every half-year, at each of the constituent colleges in rotation, but the Court holds one of its semi-annual meetings—that which is officially termed the 'extra-collegiate' meeting—at some town, chosen by itself, other than the three in which the University colleges are situated, and even the Guild of Graduates occasionally follows the Court's example. But a University, however migratory or mobile its component councils may be, must have its offices fixed in some one spot, and one of the most difficult questions which the University Court had at one time to determine was that of the location of the University Registry. Several Welsh towns were ambitious of securing the Registry.

A vague idea seemed to prevail in many quarters that the town which possessed the University offices could claim to be considered the particular home of 'the University,' as distinguished from its constituent colleges. Hence, when the University Court announced its intention to decide the matter of the location of its offices, several towns entered into competition with the three collegiate centres in the hope of securing a prize which had assumed in the imagination of some of them a much higher value than a mere University college. The Court discussed the question at a prolonged meeting at Shrewsbury, which lasted from the evening of Thursday, April 22, 1897, until the following Saturday morning. On the Friday deputations were received from the following competing towns: Llanidloes, Cardiff, Wrexham, Welshpool, Carnarvon, Newport, Swansea, Aberystwyth, and Llandrindod Wells. On Saturday the Court decided by a large majority to postpone the final determination of the question for a period of five years, and to lodge the Registrar and his clerical staff, during the interval, in the neutral little town of Brecon. Before the close of the five years it had become abundantly clear that the Registry would have to be located in one or other of the University College towns, and when the question came once more to be considered by the Court, the decision went in favour of Cardiff. The Corporation of Cardiff had offered the University the sum of £6,000 towards the erection of the Registry buildings, together with a free site in the Cathays Park. The Registrar and his staff entered into possession of the new buildings in 1904.

CHAPTER XI

THE UNIVERSITY: ITS CONSTITUTION AND ITS AIMS

In its constitution and government the University of Wales is the most democratic institution of its kind in the United Kingdom. The strength of the popular movement for the establishment of the Welsh colleges, and a prevision that the University for many years to come would be compelled to look to the municipal and other public authorities of the Principality for the enlargement of its revenues and its privileges, led the founders of the University to enlist in its government a wide variety of interests. The University Court consists of a hundred members, of whom thirteen are appointed by the Crown, twenty-six by the county and borough councils of Wales, thirty-six by the governors, councils, and senates, respectively of the three constituent colleges, thirteen by the Guild of Graduates, six by the masters and mistresses of secondary and primary schools, and six by the Central Welsh Board of Intermediate Education. The Senate of the University consists of those teachers who, for the time being, are heads of the departments of study recognised by the University in the three constituent colleges. The executive head of the Senate is the Vice-

Chancellor, and the office must, according to the charter, be held by the principals of the University colleges in rotation. The Senate has no direct representation on the University Court, such members of the Senate as have a seat on the Court being elected either by their colleges or by the Guild of Graduates. The Guild is composed of the graduates of the University and the entire teaching staffs of the constituent colleges, and corresponds to the convocation of other Universities.*

Although no act of the Senate is valid until it has received the formal sanction of the University Court, in all strictly academic matters the authority of the Senate is virtually supreme. The right of initiative in proposing courses of study is possessed by the constituent colleges; but every such proposal must be submitted to the full University Senate before being presented to the Court for acceptance. The Court cannot promulgate, alter, or abrogate any statute, regulation, or by-law affecting schemes of study or examination except on the recommendation of the Senate, or after the Senate has had, in the words of the charter, 'a reasonable opportunity of considering and reporting' upon the matter. In one department of study, however—and this will seem to many an anomaly—the Senate possesses no authority. By their constitution all the three University colleges are prohibited from teaching theological subjects. But, as the University is empowered by its charter to give degrees in the faculty of Theology, it has been found

* The University, it may be noted, admits women not only to its degrees, but also to membership of every one of its constituent bodies; neither is there any office connected with the University for which women are ineligible.

necessary to create a special board of theological studies, the members of which are appointed, partly, by the Court, the Senate, and the Guild of the University, and, partly, by a number of 'associated' theological colleges. At the present moment only three of the Welsh theological colleges are so 'associated';* and the members of their teaching staffs together constitute the Theological Senate.

Such, in brief outline, is the constitution of the University. Its nearest analogue in the polity of British Universities was that of the defunct Victoria University. Like Victoria, the University of Wales represented, on its academic side, a revolt against the old examinational system of the University of London, and is, like the older Universities of England and Scotland, at once a teaching and an examining body. It requires a fixed period of residence previous to graduation, and allows a greater choice of subjects in its degree examinations than did the London University before its reconstitution. The government of the University, however, is founded upon a much more democratic basis than was that of Victoria; and its character was largely determined by the unique history and constitution of the three Welsh colleges. The colleges, owing their foundation as they did almost entirely to a remarkable outburst of popular enthusiasm, were obliged to make their governing bodies thoroughly representative both of their subscribers and of the public bodies with which, under the stress of growing needs and responsibilities, they were bound to come more and more in contact. It thus became inevitable that the government of the

* The three colleges are the Bala, Brecon, and Trevecca Theological Colleges.

University should, in its main features, follow that of the constituent colleges; and the constitution of the University Court will be found to be modelled very largely upon that of the collegiate Courts of Governors. But, over and above the precedents afforded by the colleges, the founders of the University had an incentive to make its government as popular as they could in the long-cherished ideal of a University 'commanding,' in the words of the pioneers of 1863, 'by reason of its national character, the fullest confidence of the people.' The active sympathy and support of a whole people were, they felt, sources of educational power which even the most pragmatic and punctilious academic mind could not afford to ignore.

It is, at least, in the popular and national character of its polity that the University of Wales finds its chief *raison d'être* as a federal University. For, now that the Victoria University has been dissolved, Wales remains the last asylum of the federal system in Great Britain; and the question which is to-day being forced upon many minds is,—will Wales always be able to maintain this type of University, and, even if she is able, is it desirable that she should? Ten years' experience of University administration has served to reveal practical difficulties which were never anticipated by the framers of the charter. It was obvious, from the first, that, with the constituent colleges situated so far apart, and the facilities of communication between them so poor and intermittent, the federal experiment in Wales would be conducted under much more difficult conditions than those which prevailed in the North of England. It was foreseen, at any rate, that it would be

an expensive experiment; and the Welsh colleges had formed a sufficiently accurate estimate of its cost as to apply, in their united petition to the Treasury in 1894, for double the amount of grant for University purposes which they ultimately received. But it is not so much the cost of the federal system in mere money that gives cause to doubt the possibility and the wisdom of its continuance, as the serious drain upon the time and the physical and mental energies of those who are compelled to work it. For most, if not all, of those who are at present responsible for the academic business of the University have work enough to do, both as teachers and administrators, in their respective colleges. The creation of new departments of study, the provision of new buildings, the performance of advisory and other duties in spheres where the interests of the colleges and the schools, or of the college and the municipality, are interdependent, are but a few of the domestic matters which tax the energies and the time of the principals and professors of the University colleges outside their class-rooms. The additional strain of attending to University affairs and of travelling long distances to endless committee meetings is all but proving too heavy, and, young though it is, the University of Wales is at the present moment being forced to reconsider its entire system of academic organization.

Administrative difficulties, however capable they may be of temporary adjustment, will always be found to threaten the cohesion and the stability of the Welsh federal system. Will the bond of national sentiment which now unites the Welsh colleges prove strong enough permanently to bear the strain? The limited

financial resources and academic equipment of the colleges oblige them, for the moment, to keep up their alliance at whatever cost and inconvenience. But one of them may, even sooner than is generally expected, find itself able to weigh, from a position of comparative security, the advantages and disadvantages of federation. Chafing under the vexatious bondage of association with two distantly situated colleges, and emulous of the example of some of the great industrial centres of England in founding Universities of their own, Cardiff may at no distant date be tempted to break away. The comparative losses and gains of such a dissolution of partnership open up a wide field of discussion; we cannot here do more than indicate how the problem strikes an eminent educational authority who describes himself as a 'spectator genuinely interested in the fortunes of the University':*

'One of your three colleges is seated in a great commercial town. Suppose for the sake of argument merely—I have no reason whatever to believe that the thing is probable—suppose that this great town should some day decide to have a University of its own. Then, I presume, one of two things would happen: Bangor and Aberystwyth would go on in federal union; or else Bangor would become the University of North Wales, and Aberystwyth would be left in a position analogous to that in which Leeds found itself when the dissolution was decreed. In view of such possible contingencies, one question before all others would seem to require an answer. Are the drawbacks to the federal system outweighed by the fact

* 'Some Aspects of Modern University Education,' by Sir Richard Jebb, M.P. An Address delivered at the University College of North Wales, June 19, 1903.

that the existing University stands for all Wales, and has the undivided support of Welsh sentiment behind it? An onlooker who thinks as I do would reply unhesitatingly: "Yes; the advantage outweighs the drawbacks." To represent Wales is not merely to represent a geographical area and a distinct nationality; it is to represent also a well-marked type of national genius, characterized by certain intellectual bents, by certain literary aptitudes, by certain gifts of imagination and sympathy, specially manifested in the love of poetry and of music—a type of genius which is peculiarly susceptible to the influence of humane studies. A University which is the one academic expression of such a national genius holds a position of unique interest and of peculiar strength. It would be a great pity to break it up into two or three Universities, no one of which could have the same prestige. If there were but two Universities—one for North Wales and the other for South—the national sentiment would be divided, the strength which it gives would be impaired, and the unavoidable competition, however generous, might possibly be prejudicial to the interests of Welsh education at large.'

The main disability, however, of the University of Wales and of its colleges at the present time arises not so much from the federal system as from their common poverty. It is idle to expect the University to become a school of learning, in a sense in which the German and the older English Universities are, without a very large addition to its endowments. In the Appendix to his British Association address, 'On the Influence of Brain-Power in History,' Sir Norman Lockyer gives us a tabulated estimate of 'the sums which, in the opinion of responsible persons at each college, would suffice to place them in a position to discharge their work with

real efficiency.' Since their foundation, over £200,000 has been contributed from voluntary sources of all kinds in aid of the Welsh University colleges; but the expenditure upon buildings and apparatus has been so heavy that the entire present income of the three colleges from private endowments only amounts to the beggarly sum of £2,350. From Government grants the colleges derive, between them, an annual income of £17,250, while the University receives a separate grant of £4,000. The colleges also receive grants of a considerable amount from County Councils; but, as Sir Norman Lockyer points out, these should

'in fairness be counted as fees, not endowments, since they are given in return for teaching a definite class of students, and a change of policy in the local authorities might at any time modify or even divert their contributions.'

In order to place the Welsh University on a footing of equal efficiency with the best Universities of Germany and America, Sir Norman Lockyer calculates its requirements at the capital sum of £4,000,000. The colleges need 'for buildings and equipment' an aggregate sum of £438,300, and for endowment a sum of £3,208,300, while the University needs an additional endowment of £288,400.

'These will not be thought extravagant figures,' Sir Norman continues, 'when it is remembered that the need of the Birmingham University was estimated at £5,000,000, and that the Welsh Colleges minister to the needs of a far more diverse population. The agriculture, the manufactures, the mining and the over-sea commerce of Wales, all demand the enlightenment and intelligence which can

only be developed in Universities efficiently equipped for their work.'

It is clear that Wales herself cannot raise a tithe of this large sum. For the Principality, as Sir Norman Lockyer admits, 'happily, or unhappily, possesses comparatively few men whose individual possessions enable them to take part in endowing her colleges in any way commensurate with the need.' It is to the State that Wales must look for the bulk of the money needed, and if it be held that the State should in such matters follow the healthy principle of only helping those who have proved their ability to help themselves, then Wales can point with some confidence to her educational record.

In no direction is the work of the University so seriously hampered by lack of funds as in that of providing scholarships or fellowships for purposes of advanced study and research. It has, in fact, only two such prizes to offer, one of which is annually provided by the Trustees of the Gilchrist Fund, while the other is derived from the precarious source of voluntary subscription. The Gilchrist Trustees have placed at the disposal of the University a Travelling Studentship of the annual value of £80. The holder of the studentship is required to spend not less than three months in investigating some educational problem abroad or in the United Kingdom, and to make a full report of his observations to the University, such report to be published if deemed of sufficient merit. In 1897, in commemoration of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee, a provisional fund was inaugurated for founding a University Fellowship for the encouragement of research.

One fellowship of £125 a year, tenable for two years, with possible renewal for a third year in cases of exceptional merit, is now annually thrown open to competition among the graduates of the University.

But the real welfare of the University, after all, depends upon higher considerations than those of finance, of organization, or of administrative efficiency. The University, like the secondary schools which have grown up with it, will need the constant stimulus of popular interest and of contact with national and civic life. But a University is, in a sense in which no system of schools, however well organized and closely united by common aims and motives, can be, the guardian of its own traditions and the shaper of its own destiny. For it is at once its highest prerogative and its prime duty, while deriving from national and popular sources both power and inspiration, to constitute itself the nursery and inviolable home of exalted ideals of learning and of life. In the pursuit of its own proper activities it should be independent and fearless alike of the State and of muncipalities, of private benefactors and of the populace. A young and, as the University of Wales justly boasts itself to be, a 'popular' University is under the constant temptation to yield to the pressure of external forces. It cannot, like the older Universities, without fear or concern provide an asylum for 'lost causes,' or 'unpopular names,' or 'impossible loyalties.' It has its 'constituency' to reckon with. Here, in our opinion, lies the greatest source of danger to the future prosperity and repute of the University of Wales. The desire to be considered 'national,' in the narrow sense of being *en rapport* with the prevalent

popular feeling or movement of the moment, may but too often divert it from the path of disinterested intellectual effort and of the dauntless pursuit of knowledge. There are indeed many special ways in which the University can serve the Welsh nation without any danger of becoming provincial in its aims; the creation of a really great school of Celtic learning, in which the Welsh language shall retain an honoured place, is but one of these. But the greatest of all national services which the University can render the Welsh people is to keep before them a high and incorruptible ideal of educational aim and accomplishment, and, in the words of its first Royal Chancellor, 'to offer additional incentives to the continuous pursuit of knowledge, and to aim at developing those particular forms of mental activity which are most in harmony with the genius and instincts of Wales, and which will best enable its inhabitants to assist in furthering the interests of the civilized world.'

THE UNIVERSITY SEAL

APPENDIX I

THE UNIVERSITY SEAL

THE Seal of the University was designed by the late Sir Edward Burne-Jones. On the obverse of the Seal the field is occupied by a seated figure under an arcade holding an open book, and representing the teaching side of the University—that is to say, Wisdom or Knowledge as the instructor. On the right and left are two standing figures also holding books, representing the students or graduates of the University, together with the three shields of the three constituent colleges, with their devices of the Rose, the Castle, and the Mace. The legend is from the Vulgate Latin version of Isa. lviii. 10 and 12, of which the following is the English authorized version: 'Then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places'; the allusion being to the revival of learning in Wales, which received its crown in the creation of the University. The Welsh motto, 'Goreu Awen Gwirionedd,' is the motto of the University, and may be translated, 'The best Inspiration is Truth.'

On the reverse side is a building symbolizing the University, with cloisters below and class-rooms above, and placed between the mountains and the sea. The legend here is a verse from 'Lucretius,' Book II., line 8: 'Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena.'

APPENDIX II

THE WELSH THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES

1. Independent Colleges.

Present Name.	Formerly Located.	Date of Establishment.	First Principal.
I. Carmarthen	Blaenllywarch, Glamorganshire	1662	Samuel Jones
	Abergavenny	1697	Roger Griffith
	Bridgend	1700	Rees Price
	Carmarthen	1704	William Evans
	Maesgwyn, Radnorshire	1733	Vavasor Griffith
	Haverordwe st	1740	Evan Davies
	Carmarthen	1743	Evan Davies
	Swansea	1784	Solomon Harris
	Carmarthen	1795	David Peter
II. Brecon	Abergavenny	1755	David Jardine
	Oswestry	1782	Edward Williams
	Wrexham	1791	Jenkin Lewis
	Llanfyllin	1816	George Lewis
	Newtown	1821	George Lewis
	Brecon	1839	Charles Rice Davies
III. Bala-Bangor	Bala	1841	Michael Jones
	Bangor	1890	E. Herber Evans
IV. Cheshunt	Trevecca (Lady Huntington)	1768	
	Cheshunt	1792	

2. Baptist Colleges.

Present Name.	Formerly Located.	Date of Establishment.	First Principal.
I. Cardiff	Abergavenny	1807	Micah Thomas
	Pontypool	1836	Thomas Thomas
	Cardiff	1893	
II. **Aberystwyth*	Haverfordwest	1839	David Davies
	Aberystwyth	1894	
III. Bangor	Llangollen	1862	John Pritchard
	Bangor	1892	Gethin Davies

3. Calvinistic Methodist Colleges.

Present Name.	Formerly Located.	Date of Establishment.	First Principal.
I. Bala	—	1837	Lewis Edwards
II. Trevecca	—	1842	David Charles

* The Aberystwyth College ceased to exist as an independent college in 1898, its endowments being divided between Bangor and Cardiff.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE FIRST UNIVERSITY COURT, 1894

MEMBERS APPOINTED BY THE LORD PRESIDENT.

For Life.

1. Justice Sir Roland L. Vaughan Williams.
2. Rev. T. C. Edwards, D.D., Principal of the Theological College, Bala.
3. The Very Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., Dean of Llandaff.

Five Years.

4. The Earl of Powis.
5. John Rhys, LL.D., Professor of Celtic, Oxford.

Four Years.

6. Sir Lewis Morris, M.A., Penbryn, Carmarthen.
7. Isambard Owen, M.D., 40, Curzon Street, Mayfair, W.

Three Years.

8. Lady Verney.
9. Miss Elizabeth P. Hughes, Principal of the Training College for Women Teachers, Cambridge.

Two Years.

10. Rev. E. Herber Evans, D.D., Principal of the Congregational College, Bangor.
11. The Rev. G. Hartwell Jones, M.A., Nutfield, Redhill, Surrey.

One Year.

12. The Hon. George T. Kenyon, M.P.
13. D. Brynmôr Jones, Q.C., M.P.

MEMBERS APPOINTED BY COUNTY COUNCILS AND CORPORATIONS OF COUNTY BOROUGHS.

Anglesey	(1).	Rev. Simon Alexander Frazer.
Brecon	(1).	Councillor F. W. A. Roche.
Cardiff	(2).	The Mayor of Cardiff (Mr. Councillor W. T. Trounce, J.P.).
		Alderman Sanders.
Cardigan	(1).	The Rev. Llewelyn Edwards, M.A., Aberystwyth.
Carmarthenshire	(2).	*One vacancy.*
		Gwilym Evans, Llanelly.
Carnarvonshire	(2).	Thomas Charles Lewis, Bangor.
		David Pierce Williams, Llanberis.
Denbighshire	(2).	Thomas Gee, Denbigh.
		John Evan Powell, Wrexham.
Flintshire	(1).	John Herbert Lewis, M.P.
Glamorganshire	(5).	Alderman Aaron Davies.
		Alderman John Jones Griffiths.
		Councillor John Blandy Jenkins.
		Councillor John Henry Rowland, Neath.
		Councillor Thomas Thomas, Cyfarthfa, Merthyr.
Merionethshire	(1).	Thomas Edward Ellis, B.A., M.P.
Monmouthshire	(3).	Alderman Edwin Grove.
		Councillor John David James.
		Councillor Thomas Parry.
Montgomeryshire	(1).	Arthur Charles Humphreys-Owen, M.A., M.P.
Newport (Mon.)	(1).	Councillor Thomas Jones.
Pembrokeshire	(1).	The Rev. William Evans, M.A., Pembroke Dock.
Radnor	(1).	William Hartland Banks.
Swansea	(1).	Alderman Richard Martin.

APPOINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES.

By the Court of Governors.	(4).	W. Cadwaladr Davies.
		Rev. Professor Ellis Edwards, M.A.
		P. P. Pennant.
		William Rathbone, M.P.

By the Council (4). Owen Owen, M.A., High School, Oswestry.
H. Bulkeley Price, The Moorings, Menai Bridge.
Archdeacon Pryce, M.A.
Principal H. R. Reichel, M.A.

By the Senate (4). Professor Andrew Gray, M.A.
John Edward Lloyd, M.A.
Professor Reginald W. Phillips, M.A., B.Sc.
Professor W. Rhys Roberts, M.A.

APPOINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES, ABERYSTWYTH.

By the Court of Governors. (4). The Lord Aberdare, G.C.B.
The Rev. T. Mortimer Green, Registrar.
Lieut.-General Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., K.C.B.
Dr. Edward Jones, Dolgelley.

By the Council (4). Principal T. F. Roberts, M.A.
Alderman J. Foulkes Roberts, J.P., Manchester.
R. D. Roberts, D.Sc., London.
William Williams, M.A., H.M.I., Aberystwyth.

By the Senate (4). Professor J. Mortimer Angus, M.A.
Professor Joseph Brough, LL.D.
Professor J. R. Ainsworth Davis, B.A.
Professor C. H. Herford, Litt.D., M.A.

APPOINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SOUTH WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE.

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Lady Aberdare.
The Archdeacon of Llandaff.
The Rev. William Edwards, Principal of the Baptist Theological College, Cardiff.

By the Council (4). Principal Viriamu Jones, M.A., B.Sc.
The Rev. John Morgan Jones, Cardiff.
The Rev. James Douglas Watters, M.A., Cardiff.
Ivor James, Registrar, University College, Cardiff.

By the Senate (4):

For Two Years.
- Professor William Ritchie Sorley, M.A.
- Professor Claude Metford Thompson, M.A.

For One Year.
- Professor Charles Edwyn Vaughan, M.A.
- Professor Thomas Powel, M.A.

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2. Charles Morgan, B.A., Roath, Cardiff.
3. R. H. Pinkerton, M.A., University College, Cardiff.
4. D. E. Jones, B.Sc., Aberystwyth.
5. Ed. Edwards, M.A., University College, Aberystwyth.

B.—*To serve for Two Years:*

6. Rev. W. J. Davies, B.A., Llandudno.
7. W. Lewis Jones, M.A., University College, Bangor.
8. Professor Anwyl, M.A., University College, Aberystwyth.
9. Charles Owen, B.A., Merthyr.

C.—*To serve for One Year:*

10. Rev. Silas Morris, M.A., Baptist College, Bangor.
11. Rev. J. Young Evans, M.A., Calvinistic Methodist College, Trevecca.
12. Miss P. Sheavyn, B.A., University College, Aberystwyth.
13. Miss Alice Foxall, M.A., University College, Cardiff.

APPOINTED BY THE HEAD TEACHERS OF PUBLIC INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS.

1. W. Glynn Williams, M.A., Master of Bangor (Friars) School.
2. Miss E. A. Fewings, Mistress of Dr. Williams' School for Girls, Dolgelley.
3. Rev. E. P. Howell, M.A., Master of Bottwnog School.

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2. Miss Annie Rule, Mistress of Radnor Road Board School, Cardiff.
3. Lewis D. Jones, Master of Garth Board School, Bangor.

APPENDIX IV

I. CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE UNIVERSITY PAST, AND PRESENT.

Chancellors.

1895. *The Right Hon. Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, G.C.B., D.C.L.* (*ob.* 1895).

1896. H.R.H. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (now H.M. King Edward VII., Protector of the University).

1902. H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.

Senior Deputy Chancellor.

1895-1905. Sir Isambard Owen, M.A., M.D.

Junior Deputy Chancellors.

1895. A. C. Humphreys-Owen, M.A., M.P.

1898. The Hon. G. T. Kenyon, M.A., M.P.

1900. Sir Lewis Morris, M.A.

1902. R. D. Roberts, D.Sc., M.A.

Wardens of the Guild of Graduates.

1895. Owen Morgan Edwards, M.A.

1896. *Thomas Edward Ellis, M.A., M.P.* (*ob.* 1899).

1899. John Edward Lloyd, M.A.

1901. Daniel Evan Jones, B.Sc.

1903. Sir T. Marchant Williams, B.A.

II. GRADUATES *HONORIS CAUSA*.

1896. H.M. King Edward VII., PROTECTOR of the University, *LL.D.*
1896. H.M. Queen Alexandra, *D.Mus.*
1902. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Chancellor of the University, *LL.D.*
1902. H.R.H. the Princess of Wales, *D.Mus.*
1896. *The Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone*, *LL.D.* (*ob.* 1898).
1896. *The Right Hon. Lord Herschell*, *LL.D.* (*ob.* 1899).
1896. The Right Hon. Earl Spencer, *LL.D.*
1898. *The Rev. Thomas Charles Edwards*, *D.D.* (*ob.* 1900).
1901. *The Rev. Chancellor Daniel Silvan Evans*, *D.Litt.* (*ob.* 1903).
1902. The Right Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, *LL.D.*
1902. The Right Hon. Earl of Rosse, *LL.D.*
1902. Edward Caird, *D.Litt.*
1902. Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, *D.Litt.*
1902. James Augustus Henry Murray, *D.Litt.*
1902. John Rhys, *D.Litt.*
1902. The Right Hon. Sir Roland Vaughan Williams, *LL.D.*
1903. The Right Hon. Lord Kelvin, *LL.D.*

III. FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

1898. Ivor B. John, M.A., Cardiff.
1899. Beatrice Edgell, M.A., Aberystwyth.
1900. Guy Barlow, B.Sc., Bangor.
1901. Herbert J. Fleure, B.Sc., Aberystwyth.
1902. Edward A. Lewis, M.A., Aberystwyth.
1903. William E. Williams, B.Sc., Bangor.
1904. John H. Jones, M.A., Cardiff.

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